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THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

THE POETRY OF JOHN HAY

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF LETTERS OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY
OF AMERICA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

SISTER SAINT IGNATIUS WARD, M.A.
of the
Sisters of Providence, Saint Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA
WASHINGTON, D. C.
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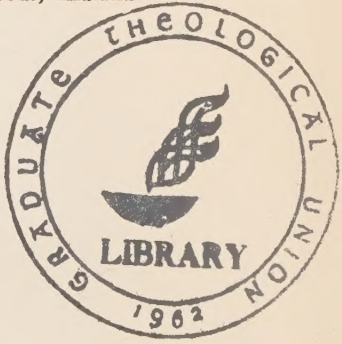

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FOREWORD

The life-work of John Hay belongs primarily to the realm of politics and diplomacy. His popularity and renown in this province overshadowed his fame as a poet. He has, however, given evidence of a certain measure of poetic ability, both in his fugitive and collective verse. Clarence Leonard Hay, his son, remarks: "But for the statesman in him, he would have been more a poet; but for the poet in him, he would have been less a statesman." [1]

John Hay's poetic aspirations date from his early years in his home-town, Warsaw, Illinois, where according to the memory of his sister, Mrs. Mary Woolfolk, a resident of the town, he as a child, had "the habit of stringing words together in rhymes." [2] From those early years on the Pike frontier, through his undergraduate days at Brown University (1855-1858), the storm and stress period of his life with Lincoln in the White House during the Civil War, and the demand and distractions of his diplomatic residence abroad (1865-70), the habit of the poet and the aspiration for poetic expression seem to have been with him; for in 1871 just at the time when his literary bent was given its first scope as editor of the New York *Tribune,* he gave to the world his first volume of verse of one hundred sixty-seven pages, under the title of *Pike County Ballads and Other Pieces.*

In this volume, the initial group of poems, "Pike County Ballads," strong in local color, disclosed the rough virtues of the Mississippi valley in early days and won for John Hay an immediate place in American frontier poetry. As a lyricist his position is far from high, but as a balladist in his six rhyme-stories in dialect, he has made his name live not only in

[1] John Hay, *The Complete Poetical Works,* p. [xiv].

[2] *Biographical Review of Hancock County, Illinois,* 1907, p. 160.

his native country but also in England. Anthologists [3] of no mean note maintain that John Hay carried on the tradition of localism and dialect which had flourished in Lowell's "Bigelow Papers" of the forties and sixties and in the short stories and dialect verse of Bret Harte. He, in truth, is a poet of the Pike. In his portrayal of this lively type indigenous to the soil, "peart, chipper, and sassy",[4] he echoes Burns in his songs of the Scotch peasantry, Wordsworth in his pictures of the dalesmen of the Lake District, and Kipling in his representation of the typical English soldier in India.

In the research entailed in this dissertation the author wishes to express her grateful appreciation to the librarians of the Catholic University of America, the Public Libraries of Pittsfield and Warsaw, Illinois, the Illinois State Historical Library, and the Library of Congress for their kindly coöperation. Gratitude is also due Mrs. James Wadsworth of Washington, D. C., daughter of the poet, and to his son, Mr. Clarence Leonard Hay of New York City, for the loan of references, especially of a scrapbook arranged by John Hay himself in the seventies.

The writer owes sincerest gratitude to Professor Patrick J. Lennox, Litt. D., Head of the English Department and Dean of the School of Letters of the Catholic University of America, for his encouragement, direction, and kindly interest; also to Professor Arthur Deering, a former member of the faculty of the Catholic University of America, who first suggested this subject as a possible dissertation, and lastly to Professor Francis J. Hemelt, Ph. D., Associate Professor in the English Department of the above University, who through his scholarly criticism and detailed supervision has brought this dissertation to its completion.

February 11, 1930.

[3] Norman Foerster, *American Poetry and Prose*, p. 1043. Fred Lewis Pattee, *Century Readings in American Literature*, p. 779.

[4] "Little Breeches," *The Complete Poetical Works of John Hay*, p. 6.

CHAPTER I

The Poetic Output of John Hay

John Hay began verse-making in 1857, during his junior year at Brown University,[1] and continued this avocation until a few years before his death in 1905. In various literary media—newspapers, periodicals, anthologies, and biographies —many of his poems appeared both before and after the publication of his first volume of poetry in 1871. His earliest poetic attempts, those between 1857 and 1861, though never collected in any of his editions, occur in such publications as *Memories of Brown, The Shield, A Poet in Exile, The Review of Reviews,* and *The Life and Letters of John Hay.* From his collected editions of 1871, 1890, 1892, and 1916, many selections in leading magazines of the day, popularized John Hay not only during his life but for many years after his demise.

His parody on Emerson's "Brahma" entitled "Sa! Sa!," a product of his undergraduate days at Brown University (1855-1858), seems to have been the first to appear in print. This poem extant in *Memories of Brown*[2] is prefaced with the statement that it was printed November 1857, in *The Brown Paper,* the embryo *Liber Brunensis,* an annual publication of the university. The following year, 1858, the poet's class of Brown University published his class-poem, "Erato," in pamphlet form, after John Hay had read it at the commencement exercises in June, 1858.[3] Three years after the publication of "Erato," the poet expressed his patriotism and devotion in a poem, "Carrier's Address," for the patrons of the *Weekly Illinois State Journal,* Springfield. This selection

[1] *Memories of Brown,* p. 154.

[2] P. 135.

[3] *The Shield,* July, 1905 (The literary organ of the Theta Delta Chi Fraternity).

is still preserved in the files of this journal in the Library of Congress for Wednesday, January 9, 1861.

A month after that John Hay and his friend, John G. Nicolay, were with the new President on his way to Washington. The subsequent years to the death of Lincoln belong to the *materia* of one of the important, if not the most important, period of American history. With that we are not here concerned since Hay himself said:

> At such a time Art sickens through the world,
> Song slumbers with lethargic pinions furled,
> Listless the painter at his easel stands,
> Drops the dulled chisel from the sculptor's hands,
> The harp hangs silent with untrembling chords
> For deeds are now more eloquent than words.[4]

At all events, though the incurable poet in Hay made him snatch many an odd moment from a busy and distressing day for scribbling, there certainly was no time, and hardly the appropriateness, for publishing aught that he may have written. Certainly, I have found no reference to such publication and no actual publications. His five years in the diplomatic service of his country abroad (1865-1870) are equally barren of published poetical pieces, until within the last year before his return to America,[5] though, it seems probable enough to suppose that that period was the seed-time of such poems as "Sunrise in the Place de la Concorde," "The Sphinx of the Tuileries," "The Surrender of Spain," "The Prayer of the Romans," and "The Curse of Hungary."

Hardly off the boat in September 1870, when Whitelaw Reid met Hay at the pier and hurried him off at once to the New York *Tribune* office to write an editorial for Horace Greely, which so pleased the prince of journalists as to merit his encomium: "I have read a million editorials, and this is the

[4] John Hay, *The Complete Poetical Works*, p. 268.

[5] See below, page 8.

best of them all."[6] An editorial on a political question, however, no matter how worthy a commendation, is no poetry. But here is the remarkable coincidence that between November 19, 1870 and the May following five of Hay's poems—three of them Pike County ballads, and of these one of the best known, "Jim Bludso," appearing twice—were published in the Greely *Tribune* papers. The chronological appearance of these poems is as follows:

"Little Breeches," New York *Daily Tribune,* Nov. 19, 1870.

"The Surrender of Spain," New York *Daily Tribune,* Dec. 6, 1870.

"Jim Bludso," New York *Semi-Weekly Tribune,* Jan. 6, 1871.

"Jim Bludso," New York *Weekly Tribune,* Feb. 9, 1871.

"Banty Tim," New York *Daily Tribune,* April 6, 1871.

"The Mystery of Gilgal," New York *Daily Tribune,* May 11, 1871.

"Banty Tim" shows up again after a week in *Harper's Weekly Magazine* of April 15, 1871. In a letter to John Nicolay, dated March 1871, Hay writes: "I have sold a third dialect poem to *Harper's Weekly* for $50 to be published with the picture."[7] The two preceding dialect poems could easily have been those I have already shown as appearing, "Little Breeches" and "Jim Bludso." If that is so, then "The Mystery of Gilgal," must have been the fourth of his Pike ballads to be given to the public, preceded by "The Surrender of Spain," in the New York *Daily Tribune* for December 6, 1870.

The appearance of "The Mystery of Gilgal" then in the *Daily Tribune* for May eleventh, marks another publication of of what was Hay's *annus mirabilis* (1871), for in that year

[6] William R. Thayer, *The Life and Letters of John Hay,* v. 1, p. 331.
[7] John Hay, *Letters and Extracts from Diary,* v. 2, p. 8.

appeared in booklet form *Little Breeches and Jim Bludso,* illustrated by S. Eytinge, Jr., his *Pike County Ballads and Other Pieces,*[8] and a duplicate of the latter in England. Hay had written from New York to Nicolay, December 12, 1870: "That ridiculous rhyme 'Little Breeches' of mine has had a ridiculous run. It has been published in nearly the whole country press from here to the Rocky Mountains. As my initials are not known and they generally get worn off on the second print, I have not been disgraced by it."[9]

Hay has generally expressed himself in his letters and elsewhere[10] slightingly of his poems in general and his Pike ballads in particular; but perhaps we should not take him too seriously, because in the booklet referred to there seems to be sufficient evidence that he was not unmindful of the reputation that his Pike ballads were bringing him. That booklet, too, contains the advertisement that a volume was shortly to appear under the caption, *Pike County Ballads and Other Pieces,* the first of Hay's poems to appear in book form, not to be followed by another such publication until twenty years later, when Hay shall have gone further up the ladder of fame as a statesman and as an author, after the publication of his novel, *Breadwinners,* the completion of his life on Lincoln and his rise in the councils of the dominant party of the time through his acquaintance with Garfield, McKinley, and Hanna. In the year, 1871, when Hay was thirty-three and only a political writer on the New York *Tribune,* we may safely assume that he was somewhat careful of whatever the public might think of him, and that therefore the choice of a title for his volume of poetry was of some concern to him, and that, whether the decision was ultimately his or his publishers, the reputation of the Pike ballads was certainly relied upon to give his volume a vogue.

[8] Copyright, May 6, 1871.

[9] John Hay, *Letters and Extracts from Diary,* v. 2, p. 5.

[10] *The Shield,* 21: 328, July, 1905.
John Hay, *The Complete Poetical Works,* p. [xi].

The Pike County Ballads and Other Pieces,[11] we may therefore assume, contains the results of a careful winnowing of what poetic compositions his Muse had thus far produced. The four Pike ballads are only one tenth of all the poems therein published. There are nearly twice as many poems grouped under the heading *Wanderlieder.* These are plainly the product of inspiration received during his five-year sojourn in Europe. They are:

"Sunrise in the Place de la Concorde," p. 31.
"The Sphinx of the Tuileries," p. 39.
"The Surrender of Spain," p. 42.
"The Prayer of the Romans," p. 46.
"The Curse of Hungary," p. 49.
"The Monks of Basle," p. 53.
"The Enchanted Shirt," p. 59.
"A Woman's Love," p. 65.
"On Pitz Languard," p. 68.

The third group of poems, twenty-eight in number, significant for the purpose of this study, was called *New and Old.* In view of the rareness of the 1871 volume of poems, it may not be amiss here to give the titles of these in the order in which they appear.

"In Church," p. 73
"Remorse," p. 75
"Esse Quam Videri," p. 77
"When the Boys Come Home," p. 78
"Lèse-Amour," p. 81
"Northward," p. 84
"In the Firelight," p. 88
"In a Graveyard," p. 93
"The Prairie," p. 95
"Centennial," p. 99
"A Winter Night," p. 105
"Student Song," p. 106
"Cedar Mountain," p. 108
"Port Hudson," p. 110
"At Sunset," p. 111
"How It Happened," p. 115
"God's Vengeance," p. 118
"Too Late," p. 120
"Love's Doubt," p. 123

[11] Rare Book Room, Library of Congress, through the courtesy of Mr. V. Valta Parma.

"Lagrimas," p. 125
"On the Bluff," p. 129
"Una," p. 132
"Through the Long Days and Years," p. 135
"A Phylactery," p. 137
"Blondine," p. 139
"Distichs," p. 141
"Regardant," p. 143
"Guy of the Temple," p. 146

Of these poems, "Northward" and "A Woman's Love" were reprints from *Harper's Monthly,* June, 1864 and *Harper's Weekly,* May 20, 1871, respectively.

The reviewer of Hay's volume of poetry in the May 31, 1871 number of the *Daily Tribune,* of which paper Hay then was and remained until 1875 a co-editor, devoted to it at least a column and a half. The reviewer, whose identity I have been unable to discover, contents himself with a brief space on the Pike ballads, and is concerned altogether with the other poems, citing by way of illustration in their entirety—"The Sphinx of the Tuileries," "A Woman's Love," "How It Happened," "God's Vengeance," and "Una."

Three poems not previously published appeared in the year, 1871: "The Advance Guard" in the *Semi-Weekly Tribune,* July 21, 1871, "My Castle in Spain" in *Harper's Monthly,* August 1871, and "Matins" in the *Semi-Weekly Tribune,* November 28, 1871. Thereafter there is a gap in the publication of any of Hay's poems until 1874 when *Harper's Weekly* of March seventh of that year published what must have been the fifth or sixth and last of the Pike County ballads, "The Pledge of Spunky Point," in the order of their publication. The difficulty of more definitely determining this point lies in the fact that the Pike County ballad, "Golyer," which has not been mentioned in this chapter, is generally not known to have been printed before the 1890 volume of Hay's poems. There it follows "The Mystery of Gilgal," which was the fourth to appear, and is in turn followed by "The Pledge of Spunky Point," published, as just shown, in *Harper's Weekly,* 1874. When was "Golyer" first published? The query must be posited because there is a print of "Golyer" on what seems

to be a piece of galley paper, a trifle over four and a half inches wide with smooth sides, and a little less than ten inches long with the top and bottom roughly torn, and the print indented in the paper, as though hammered with a galley mallet, pasted about midway in Hay's scrapbook on a *recto* page. Held up to the light, the clipping shows no print on the *verso*. That confirms to me that the clipping is a galley proof. Hay's scrapbook does not give the impression of having been made up according to any definite plan, either chronological or otherwise; and therefore the location of this clipping of "Golyer" can offer no clue as to its date. If the 1890 edition lists the Pike County ballads in their chronological sequence, with the exception of "Little Breeches" and "Jim Bludso," and if the clipping is in reality a galley proof, it must be the replica of a publication lying between 1871 and 1874. But of all this, I have no other evidence to offer except that presented above. Experts in these matters at the Library of Congress have kindly given me what assistance lay in their power on the question of the date of this galley proof clipping, but the publication in which the poem finally appeared I have not been able to solve. The poem is in eight point type, and some of the lines clearly extend beyond the limits of a newspaper column. The thought once occurred to me that the poem may have been published as a broadside either by Hay or as a compliment to him; but I quickly dismissed that idea, because his name nowhere appears on it, and I cannot well, under this supposition, regard it as a broadside. More than likely it was of a format that would better suit a magazine.

Anthologies of American verse, both here and in England, continuously give evidence of the popularity of the Pike ballads and one or the other of his other poems;[12] but no new poems were published by Hay until we reach his 1890 edition. On June 8, 1890 in a letter to William D. Howells, Hay announced the press issue of his second edition. "I have the

[12] See below, Chapter II, opposite page 28.

impudence to collect all my verses, new and stale, into one volume which Houghton and Mifflin have printed. But I have at the same time printed a little edition of them for my friends and lovers, of which I send you a copy. You will not suspect me of taking them too seriously in thus dressing them up. On the contrary, it is only the conscious amateur who does such things.[13]

In this edition, *Poems by John Hay,* reprinted again in 1892 and 1899 without any alterations or additions, the author has added to the metrical groups of the 1871 volume, a new collection, *Translations.* In this volume the two Pike ballads "Golyer" and "The Pledge of Spunky Point," which whether written or not, had not appeared in the 1871 edition, but later fugitively,[14] were added to the four of the earlier edition, again as the initial division under the caption, *Pike County Ballads.* To the second division of the 1871 edition, called *Wanderlieder,* here retained, these five poems were added to the other nine poems.

"Boudoir Prophecies."
"A Triumph of Order."
"Ernst of Edelsheim."
"My Castle in Spain."
"Sister Saint Luke."

The twenty-eight poems in the third group, *New and Old,* are increased by twenty-two which were published in the volume as follows:

"Miles Keogh's Horse."
"The Advance Guard."
"Love's Prayer."
"Christine."
"Expectation."
"To Flora."
"A Haunted Room."
"Dreams."
"The Light of Love."
"Quand Même."
"Words."
"The Stirrup-Cup."
"A Dream of Bric-à-Brac."
"Liberty."

[13] John Hay, *Letters and Extracts from Diary,* v. 2, p. 192.
[14] See above, pages 8-9.

"The White Flag."
"The Law of Death."
"Mt. Tabor."
"Religion and Doctrine."
"Sinai and Calvary."
"The Vision of St. Peter."
"Israel."
"The Crows of Washington."

The fact that only one poem of this group, "Liberty," made its appearance in a periodical, *Current Literature*, for August 1905, may be explained in part by a letter that Hay addressed to Henry Adams, May 12, 1887, three years before the 1890 volume was printed. "I thank you for your kind word about my verses. They are not fresh, but have been kicking about the place for twelve years. There will be no fresh ones—once in a decade I may fish out an old one and have the pleasure of hearing a kindly critic say what progress they exhibit, and of hearing some scorpion contemporary hiss that I am falling into dotage." [15]

On June 3, 1890, Hay sent "Love's Dawn," a sonnet hitherto unpublished, to Richard W. Gilder of the *Century* with the following letter: "Here is a sonnet which I hope may find favor in the eyes of you—past-master of the sonnet. If you think it worth printing, it is yours without money or price, on condition it is written anonymously. I am rather too old a bird to be singing in this strain. If you conclude to print it, tell me about when, and send me a proof." [16] The editor accepted the sonnet, and it appeared in the *Century Magazine* for September, 1890. Other poems, some of which appeared in print for the first time, continued to be published until 1918, two years after the publication date of Hay's posthumous complete collection:

"Compensation," *Century Magazine,* Dec. 1892.
"A Prayer in Thessaly," *Century Magazine,* Nov. 1893.
"Love and Music," *Harper's Monthly Magazine,* Nov. 1893.
"Accidents," *Century Magazine,* Feb. 1895.

[15] John Hay, *Letters and Extracts from Diary*, v. 2, p. 109.
[16] *Ibid.*, v. 2, p. 191.

"Paestum," *Harper's Monthly Magazine,* Feb. 1896.

"Twilight on Sandusky Marsh," *Harper's Monthly Magazine,* Aug. 1896.

"Zeta Shouts Her Chorus," *The Shield,* June, 1899.

"Invocation Hymn," *Review of Reviews,* Jan. 1900.

"Thanatos Athanatos," *Century Magazine,* June, 1904.

———, *Brown Alumni Magazine,* July, 1904.

———, *Current Literature,* Aug. 1904.

"Tom Taggart of Pike County," *Harper's Weekly Magazine,* Sept. 1904.

"Erato," *Brown Alumni Monthly,* July, 1905.

"The Stirrup-Cup," *The Shield,* Sept. 1905.

"Fill Up Your Blushing Goblets," *The Shield,* Sept. 1905.

"Zeta Shouts Her Chorus," *The Shield,* Sept. 1905.

Lyrics in *Tecumseh,*[17] *The Shield,* Sept. 1905.

"The Advance Guard," *The Critic,* April, 1906.

Stanzas in *Twin Roses, Century Magazine,* July, 1909.

"The Angell Cradle," *Memories of Brown,*[18] 1909.

"Parted," *A Poet in Exile,* 1910.

"In the Mist," *A Poet in Exile,*[19] 1910.

"The Mystery of Gilgal," *Chautauqua,* Jan. 1912.

Stanzas in Imitation of Edgar Allan Poe," *The Life and Letters of John Hay,*[20] 1915.

"Lagrimas," *The Life and Letters of John Hay,*[20] 1915.

"The House Beautiful," *The Life and Letters of John Hay,*[21] 1915.

"To Theodore Roosevelt," *The Atlantic Monthly,* June, 1916.

"Thanatos Athanatos," *The Outlook,* Sept. 18, 1918.

In 1916, eleven years after the death of the poet in 1905,

[17] An unpublished tragedy of John Hay.

[18] A symposium of the recollections of the graduates of Brown University.

[19] Pp. 26, 27.

[20] William R. Thayer, v. 1, pp. 45, 380.

[21] V. 2, p. 67.

Houghton Mifflin Company printed the last collection under the title, *The Complete Poetical Works of John Hay.* In this edition, a new group, *Uncollected Pieces,* contains two narrative poems, "Benoni Dunn" and "After You Pilot," twenty-Of his sonnets nine of them—"Love's Dawn," "Compensation," "A Prayer in Thessaly," "Accidents," "Thanatos Athanatos," "Love and Music," "Paestum," "Twilight on Sandusky Marsh," "To Theodore Roosevelt"—were published, as indicated in the foregoing citation, previous to his 1916 volume. With regard to this last group of poems, *Uncollected Pieces,* Clarence Leonard Hay gives this interesting detail in the preface of the volume: "My father kept tucked away in a chest, known as 'The Despatch-Box' a number of manuscripts which he never offered to the public. Of these about twenty appear in this volume. A few others, which seemed either too rough in form or too occasional, have been left out."[22] This last complete collection of Hay's poetry in 1916, with a reprint of it in 1917, including indexes of first lines and of titles, serves as a treasury of the final and consummate flower of the poet.

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[22] John Hay, *The Complete Poetical Works,* pp. [xii], [xiii].

CHAPTER II

The Position of Hay as Indicated in Anthologies, Critical Notices, and Biographies

I

ANTHOLOGIES

In the survey of the collection of American prose and poetry in the Library of Congress, the author of this treatise has found that twenty-seven poems of Hay have been anthologized —a group that represents only a small fraction of his complete output of nearly one hundred and twenty-five poems, both fugitive and collective. From 1873 to 1929 a few of the author's poems — "Jim Bludso," "Little Breeches," "A Woman's Love," "How It Happened," "Liberty," and "The Stirrup-Cup" — have been repeated in several compilations. During this period of two and a half decades of the recurrence of Hay poetry in anthologies, time has winnowed his selections, leaving only a few in the later editions — "Religion and Doctrine," "Little Breeches," and "Jim Bludso" to mark the author's poetic tradition.

As for the editor's reasons in his choice of a particular poem or group of poems of Hay, this phenomenon is not easily determined. The editor may have been guided in his selection on the score of poetic beauty; of a certain fantastic element as in "The Stirrup-Cup"; of a patriotic spirit as in "Liberty"; of the illustration of a literary movement as in "In a Graveyard," "Through the Long Days," and "Remorse,' poems reminiscent of the Graveyard School in English poetry; of the portrayal of a certain type of character as in the Pike ballads. It may be noted, however, that these determining factors may never have existed in the mind of the editor. He

may have been simply influenced in his assembly of Hay verse by his predecessor's compilation.

1873. *Poets and Poetry of America,* Richard Henry Stoddard.

The first anthology to present poetic selections from Hay was the second edition of Griswold's *Poets and Poetry of America,* edited by Richard H. Stoddard in 1873, two years after Osgood and Company had published Hay's first volume of verse. In this compilation appear two Pike ballads, "Jim Bludso" and "Little Breeches," "A Woman's Love" in stanzaic triplets, "In a Graveyard," and two love lyrics, "Through the Long Days" and "Remorse."

1875. *Lotos Leaves,* John Brougham and John Elderkin.

Two years after the appearance of *Poets and Poetry of America,* John Brougham and John Elderkin edited *Lotos Leaves,* an illustrated anthology of prose and verse. In this volume, John Hay's poem, "Liberty," occurs with selections by other members of the New York Lotos Club. The poem, "Lotos-Eaters," by Tennyson is inserted in this volume for the reason that it suggested the name of the Club, and the acknowledgement of Tennyson's acceptance of the dedication.

1878. *Poetry of America,* W. J. Linton.

Three years after the publication of *Lotos Leaves* in America, W. J. Linton edited in England, selections from one hundred American poets in *Poetry of America.* The poetic field from 1776 to 1876, chosen by the editor, shows three Hay poems, "Jim Bludso," "Little Breeches," and "A Woman's Love." In 1897, nineteen years after the publication of this volume, when John Hay was appointed ambassador to London, the British were not unacquainted with the Pike ballads.

[1] To facilitate reference, I have thought it best to break the continuous flow of thought in the following pages by insertions of the date, title, and editor of each anthology.

1880. *The Union of American Poetry and Art,* John James Piatt.

John James Piatt, a contemporary of Hay, and like him a poet born in the same state, Indiana, selected and edited in 1880 an anthology of six hundred thirty-two pages, *The Union of American Poetry and Art.* In this volume, the editor has assembled five Hay poems, four of them, "Jim Bludso," "Miles Keogh's Horse," "On the Bluff," "Through the Long Days and Years" under the division, *The Great West,* and one "A Woman's Love" under *Nature and Life.* This anthology originally issued in separate parts bears on the inner page of the cover of "Part 20," this letter of John Hay to the publisher, W. E. Dibble.

The first parts of "The Union of American Poetry and Art" are received. I beg you to accept my thanks for the opportunity you have given me of examining so beautiful and important a publication. Nothing can be finer than the topography of the work, and the name of Mr. Piatt is a sufficient guarantee of the unerring intelligence and taste with which it will be edited. I am

Very Truly Yours,

John Hay.

1882. *The Cambridge Book of Poetry and Song,* Charlotte Fiske Bates.

The year, 1882, brought to readers two interesting verse anthologies, *The Cambridge Book of Poetry and Song* and *Poems of America.* The editor of the first volume of eight hundred and eighty-two pages, Charlotte Fiske Bates, surpasses any former or succeeding anthologist in the presentation of eight poetic numbers of Hay: "A Woman's Love," "In a Graveyard," "Jim Bludso of the Prairie Belle," "Lagrimas," "Little Breeches," "On the Bluff," "Remorse," "The Prairie." Five of these poems had already appeared in 1873 in Griswold's *Poets and Poetry in America.*

1882. *Poems of America,* Henry W. Longfellow.

The editor of the second volume, *Poems of America,* Henry

W. Longfellow, arranged his selections under two regional captions, *Middle West* and *Western States.* Under the latter, the poet-editor inserted two poems of Hay, "On the Bluff," a lyric descriptive of the Mississippi River, and "The Prairie," a sketch of Illinois scenery, written by the poet in 1858, at the age of twenty.

1886. *Representative Poems of Living Poets,* Jeannete Leonard Gilder.

Representative Poems of Living Poets holds interest, for the reason that the editor, Jeannette Leonard Gilder, has assembled in this volume what the poets themselves regarded as their representative poems. In her preface following the introduction by George Parsons Lathrop, she writes: "I made out a list of representative living poets, to each of whom I addressed a letter asking if he would kindly name for me the three or four of his poems which he thought best represented his work." John Hay responded with "The Stirrup-Cup," "Religion and Doctrine," and "Jim Bludso of the Prairie Belle," which are arranged with poems, notably those of Thomas A. Aldrich, Will Carleton, Bret Harte, William D. Howells, James R. Lowell, Edmund C. Stedman, Walt Whitman, and John Greenleaf Whittier.

1887. *Half Hours with the Best American Authors,* Charles Morris.

Charles Morris in the arrangement of his poetic collection in four volumes, *Half Hours with the Best American Authors,* assembled under *Poems of Humor* Hay's ballad, "Little Breeches," with "Old Grimes" by Albert G. Greene, "Mary's Bee" by James Nack, "The Philosopher's Toad" by Mrs. R. S. Nichols, "Vesta" by Edgar Fawcett, "Plain Language from Truthful James" by Bret Harte, "A Babylonish Ditty" by F. S. Cozzens, and "Nothing to Wear" by William A. Butler.

1888. *The Library of American Literature,* Edmund C. Stedman and Ellen M. Hutchinson.

The standard extensive collection of prose and verse, *The Library of American Literature,* compiled and edited by Edmund C. Stedman and Ellen M. Hutchinson, fifteen years after Griswold's *Poets and Poetry of America,* lists among Hay's selections, "Liberty," "A Woman's Love," "A Triumph of Order," and "The Stirrup Cup." It is interesting to note that this comparatively early compilation, varied in subject, treatment, and merit, does not include any of Hay's Pike ballads.

1890. *Poets of America,* Thomas W. Herringshaw.

In 1890, the year that Hay's second poetic edition was printed, Thomas W. Herringshaw published in Chicago, *Poets of America.* This collection with biographical sketches and selections from over one thousand American poets produced "Jim Bludso of the Prairie Belle."

1891. *Younger American Poets,* Douglas Sladen.

In the year, 1891, two collections with Hay verse were published in England. The first, *Younger American Poets,* under the editorship of Douglas Sladen included "Jim Bludso," "How It Happened," and "Regardant." In the introduction of his volume the editor makes this comment: "The object of this work is an attempt to make English readers know something more of the bright young poets whose names they see in the great international magazines—*The Century* and *Harper's.*" [2]

1891. *American Humorous Verse,* James Barr.

The second collection *American Humorous Verse,* edited by James Barr, contains one Hay poem, "Jim Bludso." A note in the preface is of interest. "In this country, the names of Lowell, Holmes, Hay, Harte, Saxe, and Leland to mention only a few, are household words. . . . Their works have been

[2] P. xxv.

published and republished in all shapes and sizes; their names have appeared in every anthology where Americans found admission." [3]

1894. *Brown Verse,* Brunonian Board of 1893-94.

Twenty years after the appearance of Hay's six poems in *Poets and Poetry of America,* the poet was represented among the versifiers of his Alma Mater, Brown University, in the volume, *Brown Verse,* compiled and edited by the Brunonian Board of 1893-94. His class poem, "Erato," written in 1858 at the time of his graduation from Brown University, occurs in this volume of college verse and enshrines the poet's thoughts to his Alma Mater's "elms, her campus, and her historic walls."

1897. *The Library of the World's Best Literature,* Charles D. Warner.

The Library of the World's Best Literature under the editorship of Charles D. Warner, and *Home School of American Literature* under that of William Birdsall and Rufus M. Jones both bear the publishing year, 1897. In the former are preserved four Hay poems: "When Phyllis Laughs," a lyric which has never been printed in any of Hay's verse volumes, "Night in Venice," "A Woman's Love," and "Jim Bludso."

1897. *Home School of American Literature,* William Birdsall and Rufus M. Jones.

Home School of American Literature includes two ballads of Hay, "Little Breeches" and "Jim Bludso," and a love lyric "How It Happpened." In the sketch of Hay, preceding his poems, the editors quote Mr. A. L. Williams, an acquaintance of John Hay, in regard to the composition of "Little Breeches": "It was written as a burlesque. Bret Harte had inaugurated a maudlin literature at a time when the 'literary' people of the United States were affected with hysteria. . . . John Hay believed that ridicule would help cure this hysteria

[3] P. xiv.

and thus believing, wrote the burlesque, 'Little Breeches'. . . To his astonishment, people took it seriously, and instead of laughing Bret Harte out of the field immediately made John Hay a formidable rival of that gentleman." [4]

1899. *The Poetry of American Wit and Humor,* R. L. Paget.

Novel and real conditions of American life that smacked strongly of the native soil were depicted in *The Poetry of American Wit and Humor,* edited by R. L. Paget. Among the members of the school of humorists—Charles G. Leland, Bayard Taylor, James R. Lowell, Oliver W. Holmes, John G. Saxe, Will Carleton, Irwin Russel, Paul L. Dunbar, Eugene Field—John Hay is represented by "Little Breeches," and by the last of his six Pike ballads, "The Pledge of Spunky Point." This is the only appearance of the latter ballad in collections of verse.

1900. *An American Anthology,* Edmund C. Stedman.

The year 1900 witnessed the publication of *An American Anthology,* edited by Edmund C. Stedman, and *Poets and Poetry of Indiana,* edited by Benjamin S. Parker and Enos B. Heiney. The first collection, compiled from over three hundred native writers between 1787 and 1900, contains: "Liberty," "The Surrender of Spain," "Christine," "Jim Bludso," "Little Breeches," and "The Stirrup-Cup." To the editor, who wrote to consult the poet in regard to the selections for the *American Anthology,* Hay replied: "I do not want to interfere with your editorial conscience, but would like timidly to suggest that you do not use 'Little Br———' in your *recueil.* You would pardon the cheeky request, if you knew how odious the very name of that hopeless fluke is to yours faithfully." [5]

1900. *Poets and Poetry of Indiana,* Benjamin S. Parker and Enos B. Heiney.

In the second volume, *Poets and Poetry of Indiana,* John

[4] p. 140.

[5] William Roscoe Thayer, *The Life and Letters of John Hay,* v. 1, p. 373.

Hay finds place with those writers who had claimed Indiana as their native state—Joaquin Miller, Will W. Harney, James N. Mathews, John J. Piatt. In this anthology of specimens from one hundred forty-six authors are listed John Hay's lyrics, "Liberty," and "Religion and Doctrine" under their respective classifications, *Poems of Patriotism* and *Miscellaneous Poems.*

1902. *The World's Renowned Authors and Their Grand Masterpieces in Poetry and Prose,* Henry D. Northrop.

Henry D. Northrop's *The World's Renowned Authors and Their Grand Masterpieces in Poetry and Prose* followed closely upon Stedman's *American Anthology* of 1900 with two Hay ballads echoing the Pike, "Little Breeches" and "Jim Bludso," and a lyric entitled in this collection "The River" but in his verse volume of 1871, "On the Bluff." Both poems, identical in content, are the poet's reflections on the Mississippi River where Hay spent his boyhood.

1903. *Poems You Ought To Know,* Elia W. Peattie.

In 1903, Elia W. Peattie, former literary editor of the *Chicago Tribune,* published *Poems You Ought To Know,* a volume containing a series of poems from English and American authors that had for several months appeared in the Chicago *Tribune.* The Hay verse consists of "Jim Bludso" and "Little Breeches."

1904. *A Book of American Humorous Verse.*

A Book of American Humorous Verse, published in Chicago in 1904, contains two selections of Hay, "Good and Bad Luck," one of the poet's translations from Heine, and "Little Breeches." This anthology is the only one containing Hay verse that has published one of the poet's six translations from Heine.

1905. *American Poems,* Augustus White Long.

The ballad, "Jim Bludso," appears again in 1905 in Augustus White Long's collection of American verse under the title,

American Poems. The editor, a Princeton professor of English, precedes the one selection with a brief sketch of Hay.

1909. *Memories of Brown.*

In *Memories of Brown* a traditional record of the graduates of Brown University, and not an anthology based upon the merit of its verse, occurs a very early poem of Hay's, written in 1857, a parody on Emerson's "Brahma," entitled "Sa! Sa!"

1915. *The Little Book of American Poets,* Jessie B. Rittenhouse.

Jessie B. Rittenhouse in *The Little Book of American Poets,* a compendium of poetry from the period of Philip Freneau to the year 1900, presents only one of Hay's poems, "The Stirrup-Cup," a lyric remarkable for its eerie suggestion.

1916. *Indiana Authors,* Minnie Olcott Williams.

In the prose and poetic collection of one hundred twenty-one authors whose representative selections are assembled in the volume, *Indiana Authors,* edited by Minnie Olcott Williams, John Hay's poem, "Liberty," is reprinted here for the fifth time in the various anthologies of prose and verse.

1918. *The Home Book of Verse,* Burton E. Stevenson.

The editor, Burton E. Stevenson, has anthologized in *The Home Book of Verse,* the vast thesaurus of the best short poems in the English language from the time of Spencer to its date of publication, five poems of Hay: "Jim Bludso of the Prairie Belle" and "Little Breeches" under *Poems of Sentiment and Reflection;* "The Stirrup-Cup" under *Poems of Sorrow, Death, and Immortality;* "The White Flag" and "A Woman's Love" under *Poems of Love.*

1919. *Representative American Poetry,* Edwin B. Richards.

Edwin B. Richards edited in his collection, *Representative American Poetry,* selections from twenty-nine poets, among them, two poems of Hay, "Jim Bludso of the Prairie Belle" and "Liberty." The editor remarks in the preface that this

collection "is intended to appeal to boys and girls for whom the human side of life has charms if presented in the hight way."

1923. *American Poetry,* Alban B. DeMille.

In 1923, Alban B. Demille, Secretary of the New England Association of Teachers of English, edited a school anthology, *American Poetry.* This volume of representative American poems, including informative notes and short sketches of various authors, reveals again the heroic pilot of the Mississippi in "Jim Bludso of the Prairie Belle."

1925. *The Library of Poetry and Song,* William C. Bryant.

In the year 1925, five volumes, *The Library of Poetry and Song, American Prose and Poetry, Poems for Youth, Modern American Poetry,* the second edition, and *The Le Gallienne Book of American Verse* reprinted among their numerous selections, poetic forms of John Hay. *The Library of Poetry and Song,* an anthology in two volumes, which still retains in its collection, the knowledge, the broad sympathy, and the skill of its original editor, William C. Bryant, was revised and enlarged in 1925 with sketches of recent authors and a dictionary of poetical quotations. Under *Poems of Disappointment and Estrangement* in volume one, occurs Hay's poems, "A Woman's Love," and under *Humorous Poems* in volume two, his ballads, "Banty Tim" and "Little Breeches."

1925. *American Prose and Poetry,* Norman Foerster.

In the extensive representation from John Smith to Carl Sandburg in *American Prose and Poetry,* under the editorship of Norman Foerster, "Jim Bludso" immediately follows "Plain Language from Truthful James," two poems that in the seventies brought great popularity to their respective authors, John Hay and Bret Harte.

1925. *Poems for Youth,* William Rose Benét.

Poems for Youth, compiled by William Rose Benét, includes "Jim Bludso" in its selection of comparatively simple and

direct appeal. In the biographical details of Hay in connection with the ballad, the editor writes: "'Pike County Ballads' remain the most authentic work he gave us. He is an example of the mind that found governmental service and emolument worth more than the exercise of his true literary gift, which he seems always to have distrusted." [6]

1925. *Modern American Poetry,* Louis Untermeyer.

In *Modern American Poetry,* the editor, Louis Untermeyer, states that in this critical anthology he has endeavored "to reflect the rise and fall of certain tendencies, the emergence of a score or so of outstanding figures, the changes in subject, idiom, and taste of some three generations." Among the productions of one hundred thirty-three poets in the compilation, John Hay's ballads, "Jim Bludso" and "Banty Tim," succeed the lyrics of Emily Dickinson and Thomas B. Aldrich. In the sketch of the author, prefacing the ballads, the editor writes: "When Hay returned from Spain in 1870, bringing with him his *Castilian Days,* he still had visions of becoming an orthodox lyric poet. But he found everyone reading Bret Harte's short stories and the new expression of the rude West. He speculated upon the possibility of doing something similar, translating the characters into poetry. The result was the six racy ballads in a vein utterly different from everything Hay wrote before or after. The poet-politician seems to have regarded this series somewhat in the nature of light, extempore verse, belonging to a far lower plane than his serious publications; he talked about them reluctantly, he even hoped that these 'diversions' would be forgotten. It is difficult to say whether this regret grew because Hay, loving the refinements of culture, at heart hated any suggestion of vulgarity, or because of a basic lack of courage—Hay having published his novel of labor unrest in the early 80's (*The Breadwinners*) anonymously, refusing to asknowledge his authorship." [7]

[6] P. 151.

[7] P. 43.

1925. *The Gallienne Book of American Verse,* Richard Le Gallienne.

Richard Le Gallienne, editor of *The Le Gallienne Book of American Verse,* carries along with the other 1925 anthologists of Hay poetry, reminiscences of the Pike in "Jim Bludso." This one Hay poem finds place with poetic units representing such writers as Edmund C. Stedman, John J. Piatt, Thomas B. Aldrich, William D. Howells, John Burroughs, James Randall, Abram Ryan, and Will Carleton.

1926. *Drums of Morning,* Henry Neumann.

Five compendiums containing Hay verse appear again in 1926—*Drums of Morning, Poetry for Junior High Schools,* the second edition of *Century Readings in American Literature, The Poetry Book,* and *The Book of Poetry.* In *Drums of Morning,* the editor, Henry Neumann, also leader of the Brooklyn Society for ethical culture, revived for the first time after a period of five and a half decades one of Hay's ballads of oriental origin, "The Enchanted Shirt." This selection similar in atmosphere to Edwin Markham's "Shoes of Happiness" in this collection of inspirational readings from modern authors, with introduction and notes, was assembled in the poet's first edition of 1871 under the group, *Wanderlieder.*

1926. *Poetry for Junior High Schools,* Elias Lieberman.

Poetry for Junior High Schools, in its selections from English and American poets, based upon their potential appeal to the young, provides in "Jim Bludso" one of those colorful and exciting steamboat-races prevalent on the Mississippi in the middle of the nineteenth century.

1926. *Century Readings in American Literature,* Fred Lewis Pattee.

"Jim Bludso" again popularized its author in *Century Readings in American Literature,* edited and annotated by Fred Lewis Pattee, who has chosen his selections according to

literary excellence, originality, style, individuality of the author, the light cast upon the period of the writer, and the advance of the American spirit. The editor in his brief biography of Hay, associated with the selections, stresses a fact concerning the poet, which is similarly expressed by Norman Foerster in his *American Poetry and Prose.* "In 1870 . . . he wrote with careless abandon a half dozen ballads of homely western frontier life, collected later as *Pike County Ballads,* and all unconsciously set in motion that school of political local colorists, and dialect versifiers of whom James W. Riley is perhaps the typical figure." [8]

1926. *The Poetry Book,* Marian B. Huber, Herbert Bruner, and Charles M. Curry.

The Poetry Book, a series of nine volumes, prepared by Marian B. Huber, Herbert Bruner, both of Teachers College, Columbia University, with the help of advice of Charles M. Curry, former Professor of Literature, Indiana State Normal School, holds, in volume six, of its extensive poetry material, John Hay's "Jim Bludso."

1926. *The Book of Poetry,* Edwin Markham.

The Book of Poetry in five volumes, edited and annotated by Edwin Markham, offers selections from the whole field of British and American poetry. Volume one of the series, prefaced by the editor, lists one Hay poem, "Jim Bludso of the Prairie Belle."

1927. *The Oxford Book of American Verse,* Bliss Carman.

Bliss Carman preserves in *The Oxford Book of American Verse* the poetic tradition of Hay in "Jim Bludso" "Little Breeches," and "Religion and Doctrine." In this volume the last-named poem makes its third and final appearance in the category of American anthologies.

[8] P. 779.

1929. *Three Centuries of American Poetry and Prose,* Alphonso Newcomer, Alice Andrews, and Horace Hall.

In the revised edition of *Three Centuries of American Poetry and Prose*, compiled by Alphonso Newcomer, Alice Andrews, and Horace Hall, the poetry of the Pike evinces its enduring worth in Hay's "Jim Bludso of the Prairie Belle."

It is worthy of note here that the recurrence of "Jim Bludso" in no less than twenty-six collections gives assurance of its literary permanence and also confirms the judgment of George Eliot, who, when at a dinner-party in London among other *littérateurs*, pronounced "Jim Bludso" "one of the finest gems in the English language." The clipping in which this statement occurs further comments, "at the general request of the company she arose and recited the poem, the tears flowing from her eyes as she spoke the closing lines."[9] John Hay himself had a certain leaning toward the old river-pilot, for he wrote to Mr. Joseph B. Bishop, January 11, 1889: "I thoroughly appreciate a good word spoken for 'Jim', who is a friend of mine."[10]

Resumé: In the number and variety of the poetic creations of John Hay, as they have appeared in the various compliations from 1873 to 1929, one anthology, *The Cambridge Book of Poetry and Song* (1882) takes precedence in editing eight poems. *Poets and Poetry of America* (1873) and *An American Anthology* (1900) each offer six poems; *The Union of American Poetry and Art* (1880) five, while the other collections vary from one to four poems. The fact that the Pike ballads, particularly "Little Breeches" and "Jim Bludso," are repeated in the majority of the anthologies containing Hay verse, indicates that John Hay represents the poetic art of a distinct period in American literature and that he has carried on from the yesteryears the pioneer American spirit in song. Fred Lewis Pattee drew the same inference in regard to Hay's

[9] John Hay, *The Complete Poetical Works*, p. [xi].
[10] John Hay, *Letters and Extracts from Diary*, v. 2, p. 160.

ballads as is evident from his work, *A History of American Literature Since 1870,* in which he says that Hay "has made permanent one brief phase of middle Western history." [11] Louis Untermeyer conveys a similar impression in his critical anthology, *Modern American Poetry,* (1927). "The fact remains, his rhymes of Pike County have survived his more classical lines. They served for a time as a fresh influence; they remain a creative accomplishment." [12]

Mr. Untermeyer's terse judgment—and of his poetical correctness of feeling and critical acumen there can be little doubt —will be sustained, if the judgment of anthology-makers of all types of poetic persuasion are to be relied on, by the results I have pointed out above. I am yielding therefore to the temptation of wanting to be a help to any future student in the realm of Hay investigation, or, for that matter, in the field of anthology research, even though I expose myself to the charge of prosaic meticulousness, by giving here in convenient tabular form the anthologies, English and American, in which Hay's poems have appeared, and the frequency with which each appeared.

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[11] P. 91.

[12] P. 43.

Anthology	Year	Banty Tim 1	Christine 2	Erato 3	The Enchanted Shirt 4	Good and Bad Luck 5	How It Happened 6	In a Graveyard 7	Jim Bludso 8
Poets and Poetry of America	1873	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Lotos Leaves	1875	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Poetry of America	1878	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
The Union of American Poetry and Art	1880	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
The Cambridge Book of Poetry and Song	1882	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Poems of America	1882	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Representative Poems of Living Poets	1886	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Half Hours with the Best American Authors	1887	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
The Library of American Literature	1888	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Poets of America	1890	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Younger American Poets	1891	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
American Humorous Verse	1891	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Brown Verse	1894	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
The Library of the World's Best Literature	1897	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Home School of American Literature	1897	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
The Poetry of American Wit and Humor	1899	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
An American Anthology	1900	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
Poets and Poetry of Indiana	1900	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
The World's Renowned Authors	1902	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Poems You Ought To Know	1903	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
A Book of American Humorous Verse	1904	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
American Poems	1905	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Memories of Brown	1909	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
The Little Book of American Poets	1915	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Indiana Authors	1916	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
The Home Book of Verse	1918	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Representative American Poetry	1919	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
American Poetry	1923	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
American Poetry and Prose	1925	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Poems for Youth	1925	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Modern American Poetry	1925	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
The Le Gallienne Book of American Verse	1925	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
The Library of Poetry and Song	1925	1	..	..	..	..	.	..	..
Century Readings in American Literature	1926	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Drums of Morning	1926	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
The Book of Poetry	1926	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Poetry for Junior High Schools	1926	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
The Poetry Book	1926	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
The Oxford Book of American Verse	1927	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Three Centuries of American Poetry and Prose	1929	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Frequency		2	1	1	1	1	2	2	2

Lagrimas	Little Breeches	Liberty	Miles Keogh's Horse	Night in Venice	On the Bluff	The Pledge of Spunky Point	The Prairie	Regardant	Religion and Doctrine	Remorse	Sa! Sa!	The Stirrup-Cup	The Surrender of Spain	Through the Long Days	A Triumph of Order	A Woman's Love	When Phyllis Laughs	The White Flag
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
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II

CRITICAL NOTICES

Not only anthologists have recognized John Hay as a poet, but critics likewise have assigned him a place in American song. The latter generally agree that if John Hay had continued in literary paths, he would have become famous with his pen. He was not a literary genius, but he gave promise of sterling gifts of song.

Among the first to discuss his lyrical qualities was his contemporary Edmund C. Stedmund, who in *Poets of America* (1885) develops in one paragraph his estimate of the poet. He states that although Hay's writings are of a fine and strong caliber, they fail to do him justice because the duties of statecraft permitted him to touch only fitfully the strings of his lyre.[13] In his blank-verse lyric, "Liberty," the critic recognizes "the worth of the man," but insinuates that the mood and not the lack of unborn ability kept his name from among the highest on the roll of American poets. In his dialect ballads, popular in their day, Stedman observes only "a mere excess of pathos and humor."

Shortly after the statesman's death on July 1, 1905, William Dean Howells in an article, "John Hay in Literature," published in the *North American Review* for September 1905, analyzes the poet's relations with American literature. He asserts that "for more than half his years one may fancy him standing at the parting of the ways, where he might have taken the path to prominence in authorship, as finally he took the supremacy in statesmanship which he really achieved."

Howells summarizes his definite literary accomplishment, stressing particularly the "Pike County Ballads," which, he says, "belong to the very few results in any of the arts which have been of absolutely Western cause. . . . They are as natural as Hosea Biglow or Birdofreedom Sawin, and they represent the West as these represent the East." The ballads, How-

[13] P. 453.

ells predicts, "will as infallibly carry his fame as the 'Biglow Papers' carry Lowell's."

He continues:

"It is rather cheaply paradoxical to say that a spirit less delicate, less sensitive, than that of such a youth as Hay was would not have felt the wild allure of such types as Jim Bludso, Tilmon Joy, and their like in 'The Mystery of Gilgal' and the ballad of 'Little Breeches.' But without the background of the new country, where the individual counts for more than anything else, he might not have been able to show in such strong relief the social and political facts studied in such poems as 'Sunrise in the Place de la Concorde,' 'The Sphinx of the Tuileries,' 'The Prayer of the Romans.' He is not aesthetically more himself in these than in the *Pike County Ballads,* which will outlast them; but he is more ethically himself. . . . Only such a poet as Hay, with his varying qualities, origins and traditions could have written the others, with their (now, perhaps, old-fashioned) American sympathy for the oppressed."

Ten years after Howells' analysis of the literary achievement of John Hay, Fred Lewis Pattee in *A History of American Literature Since 1870* introduces a brief review of John Hay's life and his literary ideals in a chapter entitled "The Discovery of the Pike." He credits John Hay for his part in presenting not only a few highly individualized types but a background of conditions. He maintains that the vogue and the permanence of the poet's ballads arose from their element of truth to nature. "Hay's ballads," he says, "were true to the heart of Western life." They "were something new in literature . . . something that could be described only as 'Western,' fresh, independent as the Pike himself was new and independent among the types of humanity." He considers Hay as "one of those rare germinal minds that appear now and then to break into new regions and to scatter seed from which others are to reap the harvest." [14]

[14] P. 91.

III

BIOGRAPHIES

Comparatively few in number are the treatises on the career —personal, literary, or political—of John Hay. The first work of this character to appear, *A Poet in Exile,* in 1910, a half decade after the statesman's death, registers in forty-eight pages a glimpse of his youth in his western home after his college days at Brown University. Interspersed among the brief biographical details is a group of letters addressed by John Hay to Miss Nora Perry, a poet-friend, between the years 1858-60. Many of these epistles reveal the mental struggle through which the poet, out of harmony with his rural environs, was then passing.

"I have wandered this winter in the valley of the shadow of death," Hay wrote Miss Perry in the spring of 1859. "All the universe God, earth, and heaven have been to me but vague and gloomy phantasms. I have conversed with wild imaginings in the gloom of the forests. I have sat long hours by the sandy marge of my magnificent river, and felt the awful mystery of its unending flow, and heard an infinite lament breathed in the unquiet murmur of the whispering ripples. Never before have I been so much in society. Yet into every parlor my Daemon has pursued me. When the air has been fainting with poisoned perfumes, when every spirit thrilled to the delicate touch of airy harmonies, when perfect forms moved in unison with perfect music, and mocked with their voluptuous grace the tortured aspirations of poetry, I have felt, coming over my soul, colder than a northern wind, a conviction of the hideous unreality of all that moved and swayed and throbbed before me." [15]

These letters, forming an interesting chapter in the career of the author, came into the possession of the editor of the volume, Caroline Ticknor, through relatives of Miss Nora Perry after the death of the latter in 1896. The literary legacy in-

[15] Caroline Ticknor, *A Poet in Exile,* pp. 41, 42.

cluded boxes of letters and clippings, among them a little packet tied with blue ribbon, containing the letters of John Hay. The verse embodied in the work, as well as the letters, pictures a phase in the writer's development, a phase which he experienced before entering upon the activities preceding the great struggle that convulsed the land in 1861. The editor remarks of the verses that they are to be viewed as the work of a boyish enthusiast: "thoughtful, sensitive, idealistic, with a keen sense of humor, exquisite taste in things, people and thoughts, and a remarkable command of his own mother tongue." [16]

A more extended treatment of the poet-statesman occurs in *John Hay, Author and Statesman,* by Lorenzo Sears,—a work published in 1914, within a decade after the poet's death. The biographer has reviewed in one hundred and forty-two pages the main features of the life of John Hay—his boyhood days, his early influences, his achievements in authorship and diplomacy.

In the chapter, "Formative Influences," the biographer in reference to Hay's Pike ballads of 1870, notes that in these verse "stories of river and plain," the poet presents characters representative of his early environment, the Pike region,—"the pilot and the squatter, the veteran of Vicksburg, Colonel Blood and old Judge Phinn," all of whom play an important rôle in the sketches. These "six short poems taken together," he says, "constitute a moving picture of frontier life which has been attractive not only to boys with cowboy dreams of it but to their elders as well, and even to cultivated Europeans." [17]

In the final chapter the narrator of the poet's life summarizes his impressions of the great diplomat whose "thoughts were high," whose "designs were large," and whose "outlook for the future of his country and the world commanding. His feet were on the mountains bringing tidings of peace.

. . . . . .

"All in all John Hay's name is the symbol of what is best

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 38. [17] P. 26.

in personal character, noblest in official station, and highest in national policy. Modest himself, others were ready to praise him. Retiring, his fellows sought his company. Reserved, his sympathies went out to the world." [18]

In the following year, 1915, William Roscoe Thayer produced a detailed personal biography, *The Life and Letters of John Hay,* in two volumes. This work is based mainly on the diplomat's "letters to his more intimate correspondents," on his "letter-books," on documents in the Department of State, letter files of his official colleagues and friends, and personal recollections. The most significant chapters of the life-story are those dealing with the youthful Secretary's companionship with Lincoln in the White House during the Civil War days of storm and stress—days in which his poetic pen was not silent. Step by step had he walked with that mighty soul through this heroic epoch, as a "daily and hourly witness of the incidents, the anxieties, the fears and hopes, which pervaded the Executive Mansion and the National Capitol." [19]

Unforgettable is the description of the "little nephew of the great Napoleon," drawn from Hay's *Letters and Extracts from Diary.*

"Short and stocky, he moves with a queer, side-long gait, like a gouty crab; a man so wooden looking that you would expect his voice to come rasping out like a watchman's rattle. A complexion like crude tallow—marked for Death, whenever Death wants him—to be taken sometime in half an hour, or left, neglected by the Skeleton King, for years, perhaps, if properly coddled. The moustache, an imperial which the world knows, but ragged and bristly, concealing the mouth entirely, is moving a little nervously as the lips twitch. Eyes stupidly watchful—furtive—stealthy, rather ignoble, like servants looking out of dirty windows and saying 'nobody at home,' and lying as they say it. And withal a wonderful phlegm. He stands there as still and impassive as if carved in oak for a ship's figurehead. He looks not unlike one of those rude in-

[18] P. 141. [19] Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln, a History,* v. 1, p. 12.

artistic statues. His legs are too short—his body too long. He never looks well but on a throne or on a horse, as kings ought." [20]

One of the distinctive services rendered by the biographer in his presentation of Hay's relations with a little coterie of intimate friends in Washington—the Adamses, the Lodges, and the Camerons. In addition he cites other guests who frequented the home of John Hay or that of his neighbor, Henry Adams: John LaFarge and John Sargent, painters, Henry Richardson, the architect, Augustus St. Gaudens, the sculptor, and Clarence King, "who had something in him of the Greek,—a touch of Alcibiades or Alexander." [21]

In the thirty pages devoted to Hay's authorship, Thayer remarks that the poet "may be said to have grown up with a pen in his hand." His lapses in the even texture of metre, the biographer attributes to rapid composition rather than to any deficiency in the poet's metrical sense. He hesitates to assign subjectivity to his poetry; however, he considers "Lagrimas" as a lyric of personal mood, characterized by sincerity, in which the poet regards passion and suffering as two views of the same experience. As to his poems generally, Thayer asserts that they faithfully represent John Hay "in that they display versatility, manifold interests, a quick perception, irony without malice, responsive emotions, and an aptitude for the unexpected turn of phrase." [22]

The biography also contains an admirable selection of Hay's letters. Especially interesting are those of Henry Adams which carry on the career of the statesman and form an intimate story of Hay and his closest friend, whom he addressed at times as "My cherished Livy." The whole work epitomizes the inward feeling of the period through which John Hay lived—a period of transition and of undisturbed consciousness; one in which provincial America was gradually giving place to a "North, South, East, and West gathered in a great family jubilee." [23]

[20] V. 1, pp. 265, 266.

[21] *Education of Henry Adams*, p. 271.

[22] William Roscoe Thayer, *The Life and Letters of John Hay*, v. 1, p. 378.

[23] Fred Lewis Pattee, *American Literature Since 1870*, p. 19.

CHAPTER III

The Growth of the Poet in Hay

The years of John Hay span one of the most vital and significant epochs in the history of the nation. He himself played an initial and prominent part in the making of this history, for he was definitely and prominently during forty years of his life identified with its diplomacy and affairs of state. He was born October 8, 1838, among the hills of Washington County, Indiana, in the village of Salem, a few miles north of the Ohio River. His lineage is both Scotch and English; the former on his paternal and the latter on his maternal side. At a dinner of the Ohio Society of New York, January 17, 1903, John Hay, himself, humorously referred to his ancestry:

"When I look to the springs from which my blood descends, the first ancestors I ever heard of were a Scotchman, who was half English, and a German woman, who was half French. Of my immediate progenitors, my mother was from New England and my father from the South. In this bewilderment of origin and experience I can only put on an aspect of deep humility in any gathering of favorite sons, and confess that I am nothing but an American."[1]

His father, Doctor Charles Hay, distinguished himself while a resident in Salem in the Asiatic cholera epidemic that devastated southern Indiana, 1832-33. During the Harrison campaign of 1840, he gained a wide reputation by political leaders published in various newspapers of the day. In 1841, in search possibly of better professional conditions, he migrated with his family to Warsaw, Illinois, a Mississippi river-town in Hancock County, formerly a part of the Illinois Pike County of 1821. In regard to the name of his home town, John Hay himself wrote several years later:

[1] John Hay, *Addresses*, p. 220.

"Towns are sometimes absurdly named. I lived at Spunky Point on the Mississippi! This is a graphic, classic, characteristic designation of a geographical and ethnological significance. But some idiots, just before I was born, who had read Miss Porter, [*Thaddeus of Warsaw*], thought Warsaw would be more genteel, and so we are Nicodemussed into nothing for the rest of time. I hope every man who was engaged in the outrage is called Smith in Heaven." [2]

John Hay, on receiving the rudiments of his education under the direction of a Mr. Holmes in a public school at Warsaw, was offered a larger opportunity by his uncle, Colonel Milton Hay, living at Pittsfield, the county seat of Pike County, Illinois. The Colonel received his nephew in his own household and placed him in 1851 in a private school under a Mr. and Mrs. Thomson, where the lad met John George Nicolay, his future collaborator in the compilation of the life of Lincoln. In 1852, John Hay attended a school, later known as the Lutheran Concordia College, at Springfield, Illinois. During this period of his youth, a glimpse of the influence of his brother, Augustus Leonard, may be gleaned from a letter to President Roosevelt, November 16, 1904.

"My brother was my first friend and my best. I owe him everything. . . . He was always my standard. . . . He taught me Latin and Greek, so that I made better recitations than he did and got higher marks—which was a gross injustice. But he took more interest in my success than in his own. . . . He fought my battles. . . . He was my superior in every way but one—the gift of expression. His scholarship was more exact than mine. . . . He was the chief of my tribe, in birth as well as in mind and in character." [3]

After the preparatory college training of John Hay at Springfield, the young Hay's parents, aided by the financial

[2] John Hay, *Letters and Extracts from Diary*, v. 1, pp. 392, 393.
[3] *Ibid.*, v. 3, pp. 321-323.

support of Milton Hay in the education of the lad at sixteen, decided that he should matriculate at Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, where the father of Mrs. Hay, Reverend David Augustus Leonard, had graduated as class-poet. Accordingly on September 30, 1855, we find him writing:

"The next morning was examined, admitted and commenced my studies, which are Chemistry, Rhetoric, and Trigonometry. The first two are by lectures which we are required to take down as they are delivered and recite the next day." [4]

Hay's preparation qualified him for Sophomore standing at his entrance in 1855. He achieved success from the very beginning. Quiet and reserved, with a thoughtful temperament, yet frank, manly, open-hearted, and a most delightful companion, he gained a place in the affections and esteem of his fellows. Of Hay's student days, one of his classmates, Colonel William Leete Stone, remarks:

"His faculty of rapid composition was simply marvelous and could scarcely be believed, even by myself, had I not repeatedly witnessed it. I recall an instance in point. One evening shortly before the term which was to conclude Hay's college life, I had gone to bed, but was not asleep when Hay entered the room. To my remark, 'Hay, we are not long together and I wish you would write something for me to keep,' he drew toward him a sheet of paper lying on the table and without any hesitation wrote a poem, which I consider one of the most charming I have ever read. It was entitled 'My Dream' and in the beauty of its diction it more than equaled the verse of some of our more pretentious poets. For many years I have prized it as a most precious memento, although its author, in after years, thinking it crude, begged me to give it back." [5]

When Hay turned from his outlook on the rough-and-ready

[4] William R. Thayer, *The Life and Letters of John Hay*, v. 1, p. 24.
[5] *Brown Alumni Monthly*, 6:28. July, 1905.

frontier life of the West in 1855 to one of culture and refinement in the East, Brown University, it was his Alma Mater that enriched him with opportunities of developing his gift of song. One of the most significant factors in this development was his association, toward the close of his college days, with two poets of singular talent, Mrs. Sarah Helen Whitman and Miss Nora Perry, both residents of Providence at the time, who awakened in him an enthusiasm for a poetic career. The former, gifted with qualities of heart which were as attractive as her intellectual gifts were impressive, was born at Providence, January 19, 1803, and died there June 27, 1878. She could inspire the young writer, touch gently his faults, and point out with admirable discernment the pathway to higher capabilities. Her home in Providence was a salon where a coterie of literary men and women, including the student John Hay, gathered in round-table fashion to discuss the latest book news. To the stimulating influence of these cultured gatherings of brilliant literati, in which Mrs. Whitman was literary mentor, John Hay responded with his natural love for the beautiful in art and nature. That he deeply appreciated her kindly interest in his verse, which he humbly submitted to her and which she frankly criticized, is evident from a letter which Hay wrote Mrs. Whitman from his old home in Warsaw in 1856: "If it would not be taxing your kindness too far I would be glad to send you other verses which I may hereafter write and beg the favor of your criticism upon them." [6]

The other leading spirit of John Hay's early years, Miss Nora Perry, was also a member of the Providence literary circle and a close friend of Mrs. Whitman. Although she was only five or six years the young man's senior, he regarded her with the utmost deference. "The very fact of your writing to me," Hay writes October 12, 1858, "proved that you had an opinion of my powers which I might vainly strive to justify; and when I read the poems which you added, I was still more

[6] Caroline Ticknor, *Poe's Helen*, p. 39.

embarrassed in view of my situation. I despair of ever carrying on a correspondence on terms in any degree approaching equality with one whose mental plane is so far above my own." [7] This New England singer, born in Dudley, Massachusetts, in 1841, gave ready response to the poetic efforts of the young Hay. Her commendation of his poems, her gracious consent to read to him her own compositions and to discuss with him her literary ventures captivated the youth. Even after his return to Warsaw on the completion of his undergraduate days, he found relief in revealing to her by letter his hidden aspirations. In the opening letter of August 30, 1858, he writes:

"One of the most valued of the treasures that I have brought out to gladden the solitude of a western winter is the memory of an evening that I spent at her house [Mrs. Whitman's] this summer, and I shall count it the heaviest of misfortunes to lose all hope of future intercourse with a spirit so exalted, whose influence is inevitably refining upon even the humblest minds which are brought in contact with it." [8]

In another letter of January 2, 1859, he refers to his poems, "Parted" and "In the Mist."

"I received Mrs. Whitman's very kind letter a day or two ago. . . . When I last wrote I promised to send her something saved from the wreck that burnt in my stove last winter. But I concluded not to look back, and so will request you to hand her the enclosed affair, being the only fruit of so many months of exile. If you can read it, look upon it, and I don't knew whether it is passable or execrable. I add another somewhat dissimilar. I am at once flattered and grateful for the favor you conferred upon me and my lines at Phalanstery. I, alas! have no audience out of my own family to read your beautiful poems to, but they all admire them equally with me.

"I send a little piece in which I say a little, meaning a good deal. Boys are not often successful in condensation." [9]

[7] Caroline Ticknor, *A Poet in Exile*, p. 17.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 25, 26.

The preceding letters were written at Warsaw, but the two remaining ones at Springfield, Illinois; one May 15, 1859 and the other, March 4, 1860. In the interim Hay had left his home-town for the state capital to read law with his uncle Milton Hay. Of this venture he writes: "I am now at work. In work I always find rest. A strange paradox—but true. If my health returns, I do not question but that I shall work out these shadows. If not, there is a cool rest under the violets, and eternity is long enough to make right the errors and deficiencies of time." [10]

Hay's last letter to Miss Perry holds special interest, for it forecasts his future work. "It is so cowardly in me to cling so persistently to a life which is past. It is my duty, and in truth it is my ultimate intention to qualify myself for a Western Lawyer, *et praeterea nihil,* 'only that and nothing more.' Along the path of my future life, short tho' it be, my vision runs unchecked. No devious ways. . . . No mysteries. . . . No intense lights but at the end. So my life lies. A straight path—on both sides quiet labor, at the end, Death and Rest." [11]

As a result of the young writer's associations with Brown University and his poet-friends, Hay during these years produced several lyrics in a minor key. Besides his parody, "Sa! Sa!," his drinking songs, "Zeta Shouts Her Chorus" and "Fill Your Blushing Goblets," which ring with youthful enthusiasm, he wrote "The Angell Cradle," "Erato," "Parted," and "In the Mist," poems revealing a closer contact with his Alma Mater.

According to the account of his class-mate, William W. Keene, '59, his song, "The Angell Cradle," is based on the following incident.

"Shortly before I entered the university in September 1855, President—then Professor—James B. Angell married. . . . During my sophomore year his first baby was born. . . . Dr.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 43.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

Angell then was ' professor of modern languages ' ; i. e., French and German. . . .

" The two classes met and appointed a committee. . . and supplied them with funds to buy the finest cradle that could be had in Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. It was a splendid mahogany creation . . . with a lace canopy, and went by clock-work. Upon a silver plate the inscription was engraved. . . .

" When the baby was a year old, Professor and Mrs. Angell invited all of the donors. . . . Toward the close of the delightful evening a dozen of the boys gathered around the piano and sang, to the tune of ' Cocachelunk,' the song which was written by John Hay of '58. . . . He gave me the original ms. . . . It is in the library now. Hay was not satisfied with the first effort and scratched out the entire first verse and began anew. When he finished our song, Dr. Angell read a metrical response ' from the baby '." [12]

Of his class-poem, " Erato," an ode of 436 lines, William D. Howells writes: " To say it was a class poem is sufficiently to characterize it, perhaps, and to add that it was easily better than most class poems is not to praise it overmuch. There was the graceful handling of a familiar measure, and the easy mastery of the forms which a young writer's reading makes his second nature; but it was more than commonly representative of the poet's own thinking and feeling. There was a security of touch in it, though there was not yet the maturity which early characterized his prose and which is present in such marked degree in his paper on Ellsworth, the young captain of the Zouaves who fell in the first months of the Civil War." [13]

The concluding lines bear testimony to its stately and melodious metre.

> Where'er afar the beck of fate shall call us
> 'Mid winter's boreal chill or summer's blaze,

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[12] *Memories of Brown*, pp. 165, 166.

[13] William D. Howells, " John Hay in Literature ", *North American Review, 181:* 343-351, Sept., 1905.

Fond memory's chain of flowers shall still enthrall us,
Wreathed by the spirits of these vanished days:
Our hearts shall bear them safe through life's commotion;
Their fading gleam shall light us to our graves;
As in the shell the memories of ocean
Murmur forever of the sounding waves.[14]

The poet's inward conflict and unrest after separation from his Alma Mater in 1858 are dominant in "Parted" and "In the Mist." His mental reaction to the environment of "the barbarous West" is strikingly reflected in these lines.

Weary the strife
Of our wintry life!
Our eyes grow dazed with the staring day,
Our brain grows crazed with the limitless rattle
And we long to sink down from the sulphurous battle,
And steal from the thunderous tumult away.[15]

After six years of absence from Brown University, in 1864, the poet again reverts to his Alma Mater, commemorating its one hundreth anniversary in the ode, "Centennial."

A hundred times the bells of Brown
Have rung to sleep the idle summers,
And still to-day clangs clamoring down
A greeting to the welcome comers.[16]

During the years of the poet's early verse-making, the Pike frontier and Brown University had exerted their quiet influence, preparing Hay for his entrance into public life in 1861. During those years, as the trusted and intimate companion of Abraham Lincoln, "at the nation's nerve centre," new and varied experiences stimulated his poetic power. His war lyrics ring with "the clatter of the horse, with the roll of drum and rumble of cannon, and the shrill saucy call of the fifes,"[17] for

[14] Pamphlet in the Illinois State Historical Library. (Photostat.)
[15] Caroline Ticknor, *A Poet in Exile*, p. 38.
[16] John Hay, *The Complete Poetical Works*, p. 151.
[17] William R. Thayer, *Life and Letters of John Hay*, v. 1, p. 116.

Hay, whatever else may be said of his verse, certainly caught the lilt of the old ballad.

The first of these spirited poems, "Ye Armie Gambolier," [18] is a pasquinade on a coterie of idle young officers who had misused their free time and funds in poker, seven-up, écarté, vingt-une, and picquet. Suddenly an influx of a number of paymasters, enroute from Hilton Head, South Carolina, supplied their financial demands, and to commemorate this good fortune, Hay wrote this squib at Folly Island, South Carolina, in 1863.

> Right merrie is ye gambolier,
> Although his word be mum,
> When through ye camps ye word doth fly:
> 'Ye paymasteere hath come.' [19]

Toward the close of the Civil War, he expressed the bereavement of the nation on the death of Lincoln in "God's Vengeance," a lyric marked by stern and terrible earnestness. He forecasts "the end of the dreadful story" in a martial lyric, "When the Boys Come Home," and in 1868 during the presidential campaign of General Ulysses Grant, he voiced the sentiments of a people weary of political strife in "The Last Fight of the War." As a tribute to the Army of the James on its second triennial reunion in New York, July 19, 1871, Secretary Hay wrote "The Advance Guard," a stirring lyric, similar in content to Edmund C. Stedman's "Gettysburg," composed for the Army of the Potomac on the occasion of its reunion at Cleveland, Ohio. During this period, Hay's most earnest bid for literary fame was his long poem, "Guy of the Temple," a monologue of 340 lines, not American in theme, nor wholly patriotic in character, but, nevertheless, grouped with this series of poems. This serious, well sustained ode breathes a spirit of medieval knights in whose steadfast hearts

[18] This poem occurs only in John Hay's scrapbook arranged in the seventies.

[19] Scrapbook of John Hay.

Blazes the light of cloudless purity,
That like a splendid jewel glorifies
With restless gold that spheres it round,
And marks you children of our God, whose lives
He guards with the awful jealousy of love.[20]

In his blank-verse impromptu, "Liberty," another and entirely different view of the man as a poet presents itself. It is remarkable for its distinction of thought, nobility of expression, and the ring of genuine feeling.

. . . Freedom is its own eternal law;
It makes its own conditions, and in storm
Or calm alike fulfills the unerring Will.[21]

After the Civil War, Hay's appointments as secretary to foreign embassies, Paris (1865-1867), Vienna (1867-1868), and Madrid (1868-1870) were also fruitful sources of poetic inspiration as his biographer, William R. Thayer, testifies: "He brought from Madrid his bundle of Spanish sketches, and a portfolio of fugitive poems." [22]

Shortly after he entered his new field of activity in France under the rule of Louis Napoleon, he recorded his scornful aversion to a despotism behind the "blazing hedges of tinsel" in a series of poems—"Sunrise in the Place de la Concorde," "The Sphinx of the Tuileries," "Boudoir Prophecies," and "A Triumph of Order." The first lyric, an expression full of nervous thought, compactly yet fluently worded, betrays the poet's abhorrence of the rule of Napoleon III, at the time when the cry "à Berlin" resounded through the streets of Paris. "The Sphinx of the Tuileries," in its striking portraiture of Napoleon III, forecasts his fate in a manner different from that which actually occurred. The other two poems, "Boudoir Prophecies" and "A Triumph of Order," reflect social conditions in Paris. The former apparently playful in tone, por-

[20] John Hay, *The Complete Poetical Works*, p. 194.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 108.
[22] William R. Thayer, *The Life and Letters of John Hay*, v. 1, p. 355.

trays a realistic incident in the lives of Empress Eugénie of France and Queen Isabella II of Spain. The concluding lines of "A Triumph of Order" echo the terrors of the Paris Commune—

> Against the bullet-pitted wall
> He took his place with the rest,
> A button was lost from his ragged blouse,
> Which showed his soft white breast.[23]

During his diplomatic residence in Vienna (1867-1868), which succeeded that in Paris, Hay witnessed political conditions existing similar to those in France where he found, as he expresses in "The Curse of Hungary,"

> The same weak worship of sword and crown,
> The noble crushing the humble down,
> And moulding Wrong to a monstrous Law.[24]

Immediately following Hay's year at the chancellory of Vienna, he experienced peculiar delight at the court of Madrid, where the past glories of Spain appealed to his poetic temperament. With spontaneous enthusiasm for the history, the romance, the poetry, and the beauty of Spain, he produced not alone charming pictures in prose, but one of the most stirring of his lyrics, "The Surrender of Spain."

Besides the inspiration occasioned by contact with his Alma Mater, by experiences of war and residence in foreign courts, his affectionate nature and religious tendencies found expression in several lyrics of exquisite beauty and sentiment. Perhaps the most appealing of his love songs is the hearth-song, "In the Firelight." This lyric inspired by his devoted wife whom he met for the first time at a reception at the home of Mr. Whitelaw Reid in New York, forecasts the "fair young mother" whose

> . . . proud free head that crowns so well
> The neck superb, whose outlines glide
> Into the bosom's perfect swell

[23] John Hay, *The Complete Poetical Works*, pp. 64, 65.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

Soft-billowed by its peaceful tide,
The cheek's faint flush, the lip's red glow,
The gracious charm her beauty wears,
Fill my fond eyes with tender tears
As in the days of long ago.[25]

His religious poems—"Mount Tabor," "Religion and Doctrine," "Sinai and Cavalry," "The Vision of St. Peter," "Israel," and "Thy Will Be Done" exemplify the poet's mode of conduct—to tell the truth, to deal justly, and to leave results to God. As a literary and religious classic, "Thy Will Be Done" reveals the hopes and supplications of all Christians.

Wherever man oppresses man
Beneath Thy liberal sun,
O Lord, be there Thine arm made bare,
Thy righteous will be done.[26]

To the poet Hay, however, the source of deepest inspiration was undoubtedly the Pike frontier, the scene of his boyhood days. From an historical point of view, Pike County, one of the divisions of Missouri, first received nation-wide recognition in 1849, the year of the great hegira to California, when Missouri in general, and Pike County in particular, were most largely represented in the stream of overland emigration. Later the word "Pike" came to be accepted as a sufficient designation of a larger proportion of the southwestern element in the mines and ranches. The Pike County from which Hay derived material for his folk-verse was opposite the one by the same title in Missouri, on the Illinois side of the Mississippi, both having been named in honor of General Zebulon Montgomery Pike of the War of 1812. In 1821 this county embraced the land lying between the Mississippi and the Illinois Rivers and extending eastward to the Indiana line and northward to the Wisconsin boundary. By the year 1825, the present Pike County was erected south of Hancock County with Adams intervening.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 143.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 256.

The pioneers of the Pike, both in Missouri and Illinois, emigrants mainly from Virginia, Kentucky, and Louisiana, revealed peculiar border characteristics, marking them as a distinct class. Eliza W. Farnham in her work, *California, Indoors and Out,* says that " to be catalogued from Pike County seems to express . . . a little more churlishness, a little more rudeness, a greater reserve when courtesy or hospitality is called for than I ever found in the Western character at home." [27] A picture of their primitive life is graphically portrayed by Henry Childs Merwin in his biography of Bret Harte.

" Their dress was home-made and by no means new or clean. On their shoulders they wore strips of cotton or cloth as suspenders, and their coats were tight-waisted, long-tailed surtouts as were fashionable in the eighteenth century. Their inseparable companion was a long barrelled rifle, with which they could ' draw a bead ' on a deer or a squirrel or the white of an Indian's eye with equal coolness or certainty of killing." [28]

The same type is again described by Bayard Taylor as he met it in the ship which carried him from New Orleans to Panama in 1849.

" Long, loosely-jointed men, with large hands, and feet and limbs, which would still be awkward, whatever the fashion of their clothes. Their faces were lengthened, deeply sallow, overhung by straggling locks of straight black hair, and wore an expression of melancholy. The corners of their mouths curved downwards, and the upper lip drawn slightly over the under one, giving to the lower part of the face that cast of destructiveness peculiar to the Indian. These men chewed tobacco incessantly, drank copiously, were heavily armed with knives and pistols and breathed defiance to all foreigners." [29]

When the Pike was transplanted to California, he lost some-

[27] P. 262.
[28] P. 64.
[29] *Eldorado*, v. 1, p. 8.

thing of his coarseness and acquired a certain delicacy and subtlety of flavor. "In the valleys of San José, Napa, and Russian River," Bayard Taylor asserts, "he has secured much of the finest land. But some of his characteristics disappear. . . . He wears a tan-colored wide-awake; sits in a Mexican saddle; becomes full and ruddy, instead of lank and sallow; and loses his chronic bitterness of spirit as 'the shakes' cease to torment him. If he would pay a little more attention to the education of his children, the young Pikes, or Pickerels, might grow up without those qualities which have made their parents rather unpopular." [30]

This pioneer type, not as transplanted but as native to the prairie, Hay had studied from his third to his thirteenth year. He lingered around the steamboat wharves, heard the rude tales of the river men, and gathered in their slang. Again in 1851, at Pittsfield, the county-seat of the present Illinois Pike County, the youthful Hay "saw the Pike at home and untouched by contact with others—the Golyers, the Frys, the Shelbys, and all the other drinkers of 'whisky-skins.'" [31] From this borderland, the meeting point of immigration from East and South, Hay drew his inspiration for his Pike ballads. In these frontier sketches,

"We hear the creak of the wagons over the prairie roads; the lurch and strain of the stage-coach in the dark, the crack of the whip, and men's voices.

"We are made to know that the sun flames upon the broad bosom of the Mississippi; and the white, wheezing river-boats are gleaming on its surface, ever trailing their long waving banners of wood-smoke.

"We hear the din of a fight in 'Taggart's Hall'; we can smell the rum and tobacco, and note the glint of a quietly moving 'Derringer' or the broad flash of a Bowie knife. They sense infinitely of these things." [32]

[30] *At Home and Abroad*, p. 52.

[31] Fred Lewis Pattee, *A History of American Literature Since 1870*, p. 91.

[32] John Hay, *Pike County Ballads*, illustrated by Newell C. Wyeth, p. 4.

The first of these ballads, "Little Breeches," received its inspiration from a sermon heard by John Hay as a youth in a Presbyterian Church at Warsaw, Illinois—a fact confirmed by these lines in a private letter [33] to Mr. Thomas Gregg, editor for many years of the Warsaw *Signal.* "I got the story of 'Little Breeches' from a sermon by Mr. Winans of Hamilton." [34] In the ballad episode as related by Mr. Winans, the poet has employed a few minor licenses, turning rain to snow and the Ministerial Association to a jug of molasses, but the ballad "is the story of Proudfoot's little boy in Iowa in 1863." [35]

The second ballad, powerful and touching as "Little Breeches," portrays the heroic in the ascendant in the old Pike character, Jim Bludso. Concerning the hero, the poet writes: "I knew Oliver Fairchild very well, that is as a child and as a man grown who was generally on his boat and rarely at home. His son, Henry W. Fairchild, of New Orleans, was a schoolmate of mine. When I got the story from him, I merely meant that I got the details of the steamer *Fashion,* and the death of his father from him. There is no mistake in the name." [36]

According to the poet's conception of the hero, as an engineer on a Mississippi boat,

> He weren't no saint,—them engineers
> Is all pretty much alike,—
> One wife in Natchez-under-the-Hill
> And another one here, in Pike.[37]

"Banty Tim," the third Pike ballad, is a variation of the same theme as that in "Little Breeches." A correspondent of the Quincy *Whig,*[38] in the issue of January 17, 1872, bases

[33] February 16, 1871.

[34] *Land of Sunshine,* 7: 59-62. July, 1897.

[35] *Loc. cit.,* 7: 59-62. July, 1897.

[36] William R. Thayer, *The Life and Letters of John Hay,* v. 1, pp. 375, 376.

[37] John Hay, *The Complete Poetical Works,* p. 3.

[38] The *Quincy Whig Republican* was established in 1837.

the story upon a true incident of the Civil War. According to this account, the original Sergeant Tilmon Joy was Captain Dorus E. Bates, a resident of Pittsfield, Illinois, whose sister married John G. Nicolay. Captain Bates was wounded while in command of a detachment of the Second Illinois Cavalry at the battle of Vicksburg. A faithful negro, Banty Tim, crept through the twilight under the guns at Vicksburg to the wounded Sergeant and carried him off the field at the risk of his own life, and "drapped us both" inside the Union lines, "his black hide riddled with balls."

Sergeant Tilmon Joy offended the prejudices of Pike County, where sentiment against the negro strongly prevailed, by bringing the colored boy home with him. As a result of an indignation meeting, a committee was appointed to notify the Sergeant that the "nigger has got to mosey." But the Sergeant, who understood the negro question through his war experiences, thus vigorously responds:

> And furder than that I give notice,
> Ef one of you tetches the boy,
> He kin check his trunks to a warmer clime
> Than he'll find in Illanoy.[39]

"The Mystery of Gilgal" sketches Western character in its rare idiosyncracies; paints wild scenes in the frontier bar-room, the Rialto of the West. In the remote setting of the poem, Gilgal, a pioneer shipping port for Rockport, Illinois, is depicted Judge Phinn as representative of a large class of men of Southern descent, adhering to Southern modes of life, which persisted in lower Illionis. Colonel Blood is a variation of the same type—a large landholder, hospitable, strong in likes and dislikes, and quick to take affront. A few deft touches presents the opening scene.

> Tom Taggart stood behind his bar,
> The time was fall, the skies was fa'r,

[39] John Hay, *The Complete Poetical Works*, p. 11.

The neighbors round the counter drawed,
And ca'mly drinked and jawed.

At last come Colonel Blood of Pike,
And old Judge Phinn, permiscus-like,
And each as he meandered in
Remarked, 'A whisky-skin.'[40]

The poet's later ballads, "Golyer" and "The Pledge of Spunky Point," are the products "of an implse; . . . , to follow up a happy stroke with variations."[41] "Golyer" carries the same theme as that stressed in "Banty Tim"—a humanitarian appeal, in which Ben Golyer, the old stage-driver,

On the line they called the Old Sou'-west

speaks

'When they fired, I kivered the kid,—
. . . . . .
And look! he ain't fazed by arrow or ball,—
Thank God! my own carcase stopped them all.'
Then we seen his eye glaze, and his lower jaw fall,—
And he carried his thanks to God.[42]

The last ballad, "The Pledge at Spunky Point," subordinates the narrative, the reverse plan of his other folk verses, and stresses the dialect for its own sake.

And along in March the Golyers
Got so drunk that a fresh-biled owl
Would 'a' looked 'long-side o' them two young men,
Like a sober temperance fowl.[43]

Contemporary with John Hay in exploiting the Pike was Bret Harte, the former revealing the virtues and vices of these backwoodsmen on their native soil and the latter on the shores of the Pacific. As to the comparative priority of their folk ballads, the question is unsettled by their contemporaries. Mark

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[41] William R. Thayer, *The Life and Letters of John Hay*, v. 1, p. 368.
[42] John Hay, *The Complete Poetical Works*, p. 20.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

Twain positively asserts that John Hay was the first troubadour of the Pike, and that his poems of frontier life had appeared earlier in "obscure western journals".[44] He also states that the popularity of Bret Harte's ballads awoke Hay's frontier rhymes and "they rose and walked." Again, William E. Norris in reminiscences of his school days with John Hay at Pittsfield and at Brown University declares that the ballads "appeared as fugitive pieces in the newspapers, as I remember, and the attention they attracted induced the author to compile them with others in book form."[45] One of John Hay's first literary friends, William D. Howells, believes that the ballads "were actually written earlier" than those of Bret Harte's, and further remarks with a degree of uncertainty, that "if they were written later they were of a priority which any comparative study will reveal. They are of a wilder humor, and of a larger effect."[46]

An intimate friend of Secretary Hay, Clarence King, maintains, on the contrary, that on the Secretary's return to New York from the Spanish Embassy, September 1870, he read with the interested public Bret Harte's "Heathen Chinee," which had been published in the *Overland Monthly,* September 1870. After reading nearly all of Bret Harte's poems, John Hay noted that Harte had represented these frontiersmen "infinitely nobler and better"[47] than the reality, and as a consequence Hay himself put forth his creations, true to Western life.

In the Harte-Hay controversy, recent authors, Fred Lewis Pattee and William R. Thayer, have entered with interesting details on the ballads, seven of which belong to Harte and six to Hay. Fred Lewis Pattee, from his results derived from a parallel study[48] of the ballads, "Cicely" and "In the Tunnel" by Harte, and "Little Breeches" and "Jim Bludso" by Hay, would infer that imitation existed on the part of one of the

[44] *Harper's Weekly, 49:* 1530. Oct. 21, 1905.
[45] *Century Magazine, 78:* 449. July, 1909.
[46] *North American Review, 181:* 343. Sept., 1905.
[47] *Scribner's Monthly, 7:* 736. April, 1874.
[48] Fred Lewis Pattee, *A History of American Literature Since 1870,* p. 87.

balladists. He stresses this fact further in stating that Harte's sketches parallel his other works in prose and poetry, while Hay's ballads stand out in a "different key" [49] from his earlier and later verse.

John Hay's biographer, Willian Roscoe Thayer, gives two accounts—one doubtful and the other based on Hay's own testimony. In the former he asserts that in the month following the publication of the *Overland Monthly* for September 1870, Hay during a visit to his family in Warsaw, wrote "Little Breeches" and "Jim Bludso." He further remarks in connection with this fact that there have been "other statements and counter-statements, and much speculation." [50] In regard to Hay's own account, his biographer states that the poet printed "Little Breeches" in the New York *Tribune,* December 2, 1870, and five days after its publication, on December 7, 1870, Hay wrote from New York to James T. Fields: "Have you seen a bit of Western talk I wrote one morning in Boston and published when I got here. It has had a surprising circulation. The whole western press has copied it, clear through to the Pacific." [51]

In connection with the debated question, Hay's notebook contains a clipping of the St. Louis *Republican* of Sunday, January 8, 1870, to this effect:

> John Hay the author of 'Little Breeches,' a ballad of Pike County, which has been so widely copied and generally admired, has tried his hand on another western subject. We find the following poem from his pen in a late number of the New York *Tribune.* It is both a sermon and a song:
>
> 'Jim Bludso'
> (Of the Prairie Belle)

The poem printed in the *Republican* was "Jim Bludso," with the sub-line in parenthesis, "(Of the Prairie Belle)." The rest of the clipping, no doubt containing the poem is cut off; Hay

[49] *Ibid.*, p. 87.
[50] William R. Thayer, *The Life and Letters of John Hay*, v. 1, p. 355.
[51] *Ibid.*, v. 1, p. 372.

was probably only interested in the notice and not in the poem itself, as he was, no doubt at the time, contemplating an edition of his poetry that would contain this ballad. Unfortunately, the St. Louis *Republican* furnished no clue as to when "Little Breeches" was first published, but at least, it gives us a *terminus ad quem*. To confirm the contents of this clipping, a personal letter of Clarence Leonard Hay of April 8, 1929, reads in part: "John Hay's *Pike County Ballads* antedate Bret Harte's of a similar nature." Even with these valuable data at hand, the question still remains unanswered, for in the volume, *Poems by Bret Harte,* published by Osgood and Company in 1871, these Pike ballads of the author bear the following dates: "Dow's Flat," 1856,[52] "Penelope," 1858.[53] Later in the *Overland Monthly* these Pike ballads of Harte were published in the following order: "In the Tunnel," March, 1869; "Jim," February, 1870; "Chiquita," March, 1870; "Dow's Flat," June 1870; "Penelope," August, 1870; "Plain Language from Truthful James," September, 1870; "Cicely," October, 1870.

From my investigation on the Harte-Hay controversy, I am of the opinion that Bret Harte was the first in the field of Pike balladry, both as to the dates of composition and publication, for his Pike ballads, "Dow's Flat" (1856) and "Penelope (1858), precede in point of time any folk verse-stories written by John Hay. Furthermore, "In the Tunnel," a third Pike ballad by Bret Harte, appeared in the *Overland Monthly* for March, 1869, a date preceding the publication of any of Hay's frontier sketches. I do however, concede this fact to the merit of John Hay that he was the first to portray the Pike folk, as it were diamonds in the making, in their native clime, Pike County; while Bret Harte depicts them migrants on the shores of the Pacific, and seen in the Bret Hartean glamorous atmosphere of romance.

[52] P. 58. [53] P. 76.

In general it may be said that John Hay never attained the alpine heights of poetic fame. He was not a Shelley, a Byron, or a Tennyson, although he greatly admired their poetic gifts. The glory of his life lay in service to his country. The writing of poetry was to him an avocation. Although some of his poems are imitative, mid-Victorian, and faulty in rhyme and meter, others are marked by grace, originality, and terseness of expression. His most significant contribution in the poetic field, the Pike County ballads, however, display, as well as other similar forms, "The Monks of Basle" and "The Enchanted Shirt," and inherent quality of ballad movement, conveying as did the folk poetry of Longfellow, Whittier, Browning and Tennyson, the story in the stress and rhyme of this vehicle of poetic thought. Aside from this, he has enriched poetry with a new character, the Pike, in his original homeland, "'bowing acquaintances,' if not old friends, to most readers," [54] who stand side by side with the Yankee, the trapper, the Southern "darky," and the circuit-rider. In this new poetic development, John Hay has gained and still retains popularity and distinction as a poet of the Pike County folk.

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[54] John Hay, *The Complete Poetical Works*, p. [xi].

AFTERWORD

Circumstances made John Hay a man of action. Before assuming his final position at the head of the Department of State in his sixtieth year, he had stored his mind with the wisdom of the ages in his six years with Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War; in his five years abroad in the study of diplomacy and European institutions; in an equal number of years on the editorial staff of the New York *Tribune*; in his two years in the Department of State; in a year and a half as Ambassador at the Court of St. James; and lastly in the twenty years of indefatigable study of Abraham Lincoln and his time, resulting in one of the great biographies of the world as well as an authoritative history of the epoch preceding and including the Civil War.

When John Hay became Secretary of State in 1898, he stepped into the broad field of international relations at the moment when the United States was passing into a new era and expanding into a world-power among the nations. The war with Spain had just ended, and his first official act of importance was the signing of the Treaty of Paris. New problems at home and abroad confronted him—problems for whose solution the past history of the nation afforded no precedent. To each question, he applied what he called his "combination of Monroe Doctrine and Golden Rule." He followed this principle in securing the open door in China, and in preserving the integrity of that nation during the Boxer insurrection, and again in the war between Japan and Russia by confining hostilities to Manchuria; in settling the Samoan question; in ending the dispute about the Alaskan boundary; in advancing the cause of international arbitration by urging Peace Conferences and by inducing nations to carry their disputes before the Hague Tribunal; in appealing to the powers in behalf of the persecuted Jews in Roumania and obtaining for the latter

the rights guaranteed to them by the treaty of Berlin; in negotiating the Hay-Pauncefote treaty which gave to the United States a free hand in building and operating the Isthmian Canal; and in recognizing the independence of the new Republic of Panama and in negotiating a canal treaty with that government by which the entire control of the canal strip was secured to the United States.

Diplomacy and affairs of state controlled the last forty years of the stateman's life and gradually suppressed his poetic ideals. Though suppressed, his poetic fire "ran as an undercurrent throughout his last years, and helped him in the many serious problems he was called upon to solve." [1] Finally, broken health and bereavements, which came to him in 1901 in the deaths of his eldest son, Adelbert, and his intimate friends, Clarence King and John Nicolay, crushed his spirits, so that in his declining years he rhymed no more ballads and sang but few songs — "Peace," "To Theodore Roosevelt," "Christmas Eve", and "Thanatos Athanatos"—before his final summons in 1905.

It is his group of "Pike County Ballads" that has proved to be the open sesame to the portals of his poetic fame. These frontier sketches have outlived all his other poems. In 1870, when his four ballads appeared in the New York *Tribune,* they were caught up by newspapers and magazines with gleeful gusto and scattered broadcast through forests and prairies. These ballads—no one claims for them the meed of poesy—full of rough words and tender religion went everywhere telling their own story and winning their way, their popularity illustrating how they were needed and how keenly enjoyed—not the rude language in which they were couched, but the honest, natural, liberal sentiment which it veiled. Though Hay did not fail to enjoy the reputation which his ballads brought him, he did not overestimate them, as appears in a letter of February,

[1] John Hay, *The Complete Poetical Works,* p. [xiv].

1871, to Thomas Greeg, for many years editor of the Warsaw *Signal.* "I do not think much of my poems. They have had an enormous success both in this country and in England; but I think it will be ephemeral." [2] Again on October 5, 1871, he wrote to Richard H. Stoddard, editor of the second edition of Griswold's *Poets and Poetry of America:* "I hope you will not suspect me of affectation when I tell you I don't want to go into Griswold's book. I am no poet,—I make no claim that way. There is hardly one educated man in my acquaintance but has written as much verse as I. By an unlucky accident I put a quaint story into rhyme and gave it to Reid, and the people who read you or Tennyson to save your lives, read this, and guffawed over it and—*me voilà a poet!* Then Osgood came and tempted me, and the mischief was done.

. . . . . .

"There is nothing I respect so much as the name of a poet. If I had done anything like your work or Stedman's, I would be indifferently conceited over it. But I have never written a rhyme which deserved to be printed,—still less to be gathered up and kept as specimens of literature. I can do some things as well as most men of my weight, but poems are not of them." [3] In the same year, June nineteenth, he addressed these lines to his friend, Albert Rhodes: "I am the creature of accident. I am not to blame for the absurd vogue of my doggerel." [4]

These ballads at the time a new mid-Victorian sensation in the rough dramatic force of the narrative they contained, in the poetic fidelity alike to the western spirit and dialect, came as an inspiration to the poet at the beginning of his journalistic career on the New York *Tribune.* He, unlike the poet Burns who lived and wrote in immediate contact with his peasant characters, composed his verse-stories not on the new western soil nor during his boyhood association with the simple western

[2] *Land of Sunshine, 7:* 59. July, 1897.
[3] John Hay, *Letters and Extracts from Diary,* v. 2, pp. 9, 10.
[4] *Ibid.,* v. 2, p. 9.

folk of the Pike, but remote from them in an Eastern environment, after a lapse of more than a decade of years. In "Little Breeches," "Jim Bludso," "Banty Tim," "The Mystery of Gilgal," "Golyer," and "The Pledge of Spunky Point," the poet depicts anew the elemental virtues of gratitude, courage, and self-sacrifice of these backwoodsmen, a unique American folk, whose poetic creation has merited for John Hay his rôle as "a pioneer, a creator, a leader" [5] in American frontier poetry.

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[5] Fred Lewis Pattee, *A History of American Literature Since 1870*, p. 91.

APPENDIX.

Some Uncollected Poems of John Hay

The general reader, or student of American literature who may want to know other poems of John Hay than those in the collected works of the poet, the 1916 complete collection or one of the earlier collections (1871, 1890, 1892, 1899), will find such as are accessible in books or well-known magazines indicated in the following list:

Sa! Sa! (1857) in *Memories of Brown*, 1909, p. 135;

The Angell Cradle (1858) in *Ibid.*, p. 167;

Stanzas in Imitation of Edgar Allan Poe (1858) in William Roscoe Thayer's *Life and Letters of John Hay*, 1915, v. 1, p. 45;

Erato (1858) in the privately printed *An Oration and a Poem* by John Hay, published by Knowles, Anthony and Co., 1858, a copy of which is preserved in the John Hay Library at Brown University and in the Illinois State Historical Library at Springfield, Illinois;

Parted (1859) in Caroline Ticknor's *A Poet in Exile*, 1910, p. 26;

In the Mist (1859) *Ibid.*, pp. 27-35;

A Quatrain in Twin Roses in the *Century* for July, 1909;

The House Beautiful (1882) in William Roscoe Thayer's *Life and Letters of John Hay*, 1915, v. 2, pp. 67-68.

When Phyllis Laughs (1896) in Warner's *Library of the World's Best Literature*, v. 12, p. 7106;

Invocation Hymn (1896) in the *Review of Reviews* for January, 1900.

Seven more poems, either hitherto unpublished or found in out-of-the-way places, I have brought together here in the interest of a more complete knowledge of Hay's contribution to American literature. The unpublished poems are in Hay scrapbooks. Mrs. James Wadsworth, the poet's daughter, who has been helpful to me in many ways in the preparation of the foregoing study, has graciously sanctioned the present publication of these. For the copy of two of them I am indebted to Miss Ellen Bell, librarian of the Public Library of Warsaw, Illinois, who has kindly had them typed for me from the Leonard scrapbook in the Warsaw Library.

ZETA SHOUTS HER CHORUS.

This drinking song, extant in *The Shield 15:* 93, June, 1899, has for its signature "John Hay, Zeta, '58." The song was evidently a product of his senior year, 1858, at Brown University.

The hand's warm clasp, when brothers grasp
No earthly power can sever;
And a brother's love, all change above,
Shall cling to the heart forever.

Then laugh and sing, ere Time can fling
His chilling shadow o'er us;
Let young delight put care to flight,
With Zeta's ringing chorus.

The sacred chain shall our hearts retain
In its links of fond devotion,
While brims each soul, like the flowing bowl,
With the wine of warm emotion.

Each spirit keep, in memory deep,
Our motto's mystic beauty;
Let it shine afar like a pilot star,
O'er the holy path of duty.

And thus each day shall glide away,
In bliss to perfect ending;
And life be bright with a rainbow light,
Of tears and sunshine blending.

Old Time shall fly more merrily by,
When joy has plumed his pinions,
And not a shade from his wings be laid
On youth and love's dominions.

Then laugh and sing; Time ne'er can fling
His baneful shadow o'er us,
While hope is bright and our hearts are light
And the Zeta shouts her chorus.

FILL UP YOUR BLUSHING GOBLETS.

This feasting song was dedicated in fact and sentiment to the Theta Delta Chi Fraternity, of which John Hay became a member during his college days. The lyric was taken from a time-scarred pamphlet which drifted into the possession of the editor of *The Shield*, shortly before the publication of the John Hay memorial number of the magazine for September, 1905. These verses, sung at many a lusty revel of the Theta Deltas, are preserved in *The Shield 21:* 369.

Fill up your blushing goblets
  Till the bubbles kiss the brim,
We'll drink and shout our chorus out
  Till waning stars are dim;
We'll sing a name which lights to flame
  The luster in each eye,
And brings a flush to every brow,—
  'Tis Theta Delta Chi.

CHORUS

O, 'tis Theta Delta Chi, 'tis Theta Delta Chi;
And brings a flush to every brow—'tis Theta Delta Chi.

Drive Plutus hence, let Bacchus here
  Assert his joyous sway;
Shout owlish wisdom into fear,
  Let care infest the day;
We'll drink until the tipsy stars
  Wink in the glimmering sky;
Time fleets away, let youth be gay,
  In Theta Delta Chi.

And if, perchance, one sadder line
  May mingle with the strain,
For those, the lost, whose loving voice
  We ne'er shall hear again,
Let this rejoice the heavy heart
  And light the dimming eye,
The gates of Eden are not closed
  To Theta Delta Chi!

Then fill your goblets till the wine
  Shall kiss the blushing brim,
Till morn is red, and night is dead,
  And stars are waning dim.
Stir up the lagging steeds of Time,
  And speed them as they fly,
We'll pledge this night to pure delight,
  And Theta Delta Chi.

CHORUS

O, 'tis Theta Delta Chi, 'tis Theta Delta Chi;
We'll pledge this night to pure delight, and Theta Delta Chi.

LYRICS IN *TECUMSEH, A PLAY IN FIVE ACTS.*

According to an article in *The Shield 21*:328, for September, 1905, these verses, an appeal of an Indian lover to his betrothed, were written by John Hay during his student days at Brown University and preserved by his classmate, William Leete Stone, out of an unpublished play of Hay entitled *Tecumseh, a Tragedy in Five Acts.*

I

Come forth and go with me, my love,
  Through the starlit hours of night,
While the still, sad moon from the vault above,
  Sheds down her mellowed light.
Not a sound on the sleeping earth is heard,
  But ever the soughing breeze
Rocks to repose the wearied bird
  In the top of the rustling trees.

II

I know where the crimson prairie-cup springs,
  And the blue-bell hangs its head;
Where the breeze to the queenly tulip sings,
  And the modest violets spread;
Where purpling rich through the vine leaves green
  The full grape clusters shine;
And, brightening the grass with its coral sheen
  Runs the wild strawberry vine.

III

My arrow shall probe the thicket's shade
  To gain the choicest food;
The deer shall bleed in the open glade,
  The panther in the wood.
The eagle's plume will my right arm gain
  The raven hair to deck
From the ring-dove's nest will I weave a chain,
  To bind around thy neck.

IV

And when the moon sheds her amber light,
  I shall take my light canoe,
While the cold calm stars keep their vigils bright
  We'll glide o'er the lakelet blue.
But, a roseate streak of light appears
  At the orient gates of Day.
So banish my love, all idle fears
  And haste to my bower away.

QUATRAIN IN CLASS MEMORIAL.

In a memory-book containing autographed photographs of the faculty and the graduates of Brown University in 1858, John Hay inscribed opposite his portrait his name and the following stanza. The verse, extant in a scrapbook prepared by a member of the Leonard family, is found in the Public Library, Warsaw, Illinois.

Blindly to the grave we go
  Life of today is death tomorrow;
God hath kindly willed it so—
  Shorter life is shorter sorrow.

CARRIER'S ADDRESS

TO THE

PATRONS OF THE *ILLINOIS STATE JOURNAL*

JANUARY 1ST, 1861.

This occasional poem in the columns of the *Weekly Illinois State Journal*, Springfield, for January 9, 1861, was written by the poet shortly before he left for Washington, D. C., as Secretary to Lincoln.

Last night the midnight air was dim,
  With trooping spectres flying—
Sad Nature wailed a funeral hymn—
  For the Old Year lay a-dying.

On the bleak hills the drifted snows
  In long white lines were lying,
Drearily moaned the wintry boughs—
  For the Old Year lay a-dying.

The houseless winds swept to and fro
  Like guilty spirits sighing,
All earth seemed mute with silent woe—
  For the Old Year lay a-dying.

But when the lingering year was dead,
  Joy out of grief upspringing,
Made bright the heaven overhead—
  For New Year's bells were ringing.

Clear clanged the bells, o'er all the earth
  Their airy tidings flinging—
In joyous strains of chainless mirth
  The New Year's bells were ringing!

And through the watches of the night—
  Till—morn's wide splendors bringing—
Fire-mottled broke the Eastern light—
  The New Year's bells were ringing!

Gone is the Old Year. Let him rest!
  Disturb him not with idle moan!
Weep not above his pulseless breast!
  Up to the grave-door roll the stone!
Merry was he when he was young—
  And wise was he when he was old—
Closed are his eyes and still his tongue
  Under his snow-shroud white and cold.
Turn to the New Year, young and fair—
  His heart is strong, his eye is bright—
Fear not but he will bravely wear
  The crown he wore but yesternight.
God is good; and the skies are blue,
  The New Year's bells so gaily ring,
Turn from the Old to greet the New!
  The King is dead! Long live the King!

While Hope waits on the coming year,
  Let memory not neglect the Last;
Strew deathless flowers upon his bier,
  And lay him with the honored Past!
For never yet since Time began,
  Has any year pursued its flight,
More filled with grand results to Man,
  Than the good year that died last night.
And never in the coming time
  Full-fraught with glories yet to be,
Shall any seasons ring their chime
  More dear to spirits of the free.
For borne o'er earth on viewless wings,
  Free Thought has held its conquering way,
Blasting to dust the pride of kings,
  And kindling darkness into day.
The seed of Freedom sown in gloom,
  Nursed painfully in toil and tears,
Now scatters like the aloe bloom,
  The blossom of a hundred years.

How long! how still Italia slept,
While hireling hordes above her reigned,
How sad the tears that freedom wept
To see her holiest shrines profaned.
Into the midnight of her dreams
There stole a whisper faint and far,
And flushed them with a light that gleams
On lands beneath the Western star!
And as the tender morning broke
In glory on the Tuscan sea,
The sleeper murmured, as she woke,
"The State that wills it, shall be free."

Fair Italy! No flood of war
Shall ever quench the radiant beam
That blazes from the rising star
O'er Mantua's wall and Arno's stream.
Beautiful by the summer sea!
Happy amid her clustering vines!
Glad in the wind that whistles free
Down from the airy Apennines!
The antique glory on her brow—
The Empress in her port again—
Though in her sweet eyes lingers now
The tender shade of vanished pain.
Home of the fair, the free, the brave!
Crowned mistress of the Tiber-shore!
Still reign beside the sunny wave,
Happy and free forevermore!

Whene'er the hosts of freedom rise—
Whene'er her banner floats unfurled—
Her light illumines distant skies,
And spreads a sunburst o'er the world.
Back o'er the wide Atlantic flows
The soul of freedom o'er the tide,
And kindles hearts as brave as those
Who fought at Garibaldi's side.
Though sullen hate and traitor rage
A few brief days the fight prolong—
Our Lincoln's name shall light the age
In History's scroll and poet's song!

The fight is o'er, the victory won—
Glad shouts the echoes are waking,
The light of a broader dawn's begun
O'er the distant mountains breaking!

The shadows fly,
From the startled sky,
When the bursting light is sweeping,
And the gleam invades,
The deeper shades,
Where the ghosts of the Past are sleeping!

Majestic under the Western skies
The Queen of the Prairies stands!
With a new joy bright in her glorious eyes,
And the palm-branch in her hands.
And her bright eye glistens,
The while she listens,
To a murmur that grandly flows,
From distant strands,
From sever'd lands,
On every breeze that blows:

"Blest in the light of the work that is done!
In the dawn of the conquering Right!
Blest are thou that thy noblest son
Led freedom's hosts to the fight!
His glory now,
Sheds over thy brow
A light that shall blaze forever,
While the wild flowers blow
Or the wild streams flow,
From the Lakes to the Beautiful River!"

Let us look backward, ere the song be ended,
To that sad Sabbath morning,
When through the wild March skies Our Chief
ascended,
And left the people mourning.

With the clinging love still tearful Memory lingers
Round Bissell's honored tomb,
And patient Fame weaves with persistent fingers,
A wreath of fadeless bloom;

Where the blood-rose of Valor glows in splendor
Fierce as a battle psalm,
While 'mid the civic oak-leaves shimmers tender,
Love's myrtle and the palm.

And Faith looks upon with steadfast eyes immortal,
  Into the bending skies,
Scorning to seek for him at death's dim portals,
  Who walks in Paradise!

Then let us not with our untimely weeping
  Insult the still repose,
Of the proud form that now is grandly sleeping
  Under the winter snows.

For great men, dead or living, still are powers
  Of energy sublime,
That fill the earth, and deck with amaranth flowers
  The thorny stem of Time.

All hearts to-day, own pleasure's sway,
  While New Year's bells are ringing,
A song of praise for joyous days,
  Each grateful heart is singing.

O'er-brimmed with glee, each spirit free
  In Rapture's light is dancing,
Like stars seen through, the glimmering blue,
  With mirthful lustre glancing.

While every heart, may each its part
  Of heaven's wide joy inherit—
Let not the hand this plea withstand
  To cloud the Carrier's spirit.

Though poor the lay, let New Year's day
  Its sheltering mantle lend us,
Let New Year chimes, protect our rhymes,
  And generous hearts befriend us.

So may each day, glide soft away
  In bliss to perfect ending—
And life be bright with rainbow light
  Of tears and sunshine blending!

YE ARMIE GAMBOLIER.

In a scrapbook prepared by John Hay himself in the seventies and lent to the author of this treatise through the courtesy of Mr. Clarence Leonard Hay, the poet's son, is found a clipping entitled, "Ye Armie Gambolier," written in 1863.

Right merrie is ye gambolier,
  Although his worde be mum,
When through ye camps ye word doth fly:
  "Ye paymasteere hath come!"

He straightway calleth to the strife
  His tryed and trusty bande,
His two and fiftie fighting menne
  All ready to his hande.

No storms appalle ye gambolier,
  For winds he doth not recke;
For he is ever on ye seize,
  And travelleth on ye decke.

He loves to cut, ye gambolier,
  For chips do please his minde;
And eke more sharplie doth he see
  When he is going blinde."

Right seldom doth ye gambolier
  To dances love to goe;
He likes ye shuffie for himself
  Ye breake-down for his foe.

Fulle rarely speaks ye gambolier,
  Yet ever by ye carde—
A soldier he, yet serveth notte
  Save on ye picquet guarde.

Folly Island, S. C., April 10, 1863.

THE LAST FIGHT OF THE WAR.

In the Leonard scrapbook in the Public Library of Warsaw, Illinois, occurs this martial lyric written by John Hay for Grant's presidential campaign of 1868, the same year that Major Hay was Secretary of the Legation to Austria.

Once more rings out the bugle call;
Once more the banner flies,
Once more the boys are gathering,
Beneath the autumn skies,
For treason makes its final flight
Against the rights of man,
But the flag we raise as in other days,
And Grant is in the van.

We've heard that rebel yell before,
We've heard the traitor whine—
When riot roared in bowery,
And Lee had crossed the line,
But victory came in a blaze of fame,
That scorched the rebel clan,
For the Boys in Blue, were stout and true—
And Grant was in the van.

Still raged the war; and grass grew green
O'er many a soldier form,
Till peace came, fair as a morning star,
After a night of storm,
And shall we now the fruits of peace
To treason tamely yield
Not while a soldier wields a vote,
And Grant is in the field.

So close up ranks and forward march,
Till the crowning fight is won,
While the sweet ole music fills the hearts
With the souls of battle gone,
Our cause is blest; we cannot fail
Who strive for the rights of man;
The stars in their course fight for us—
And Grant is in the van.

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VITA

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